

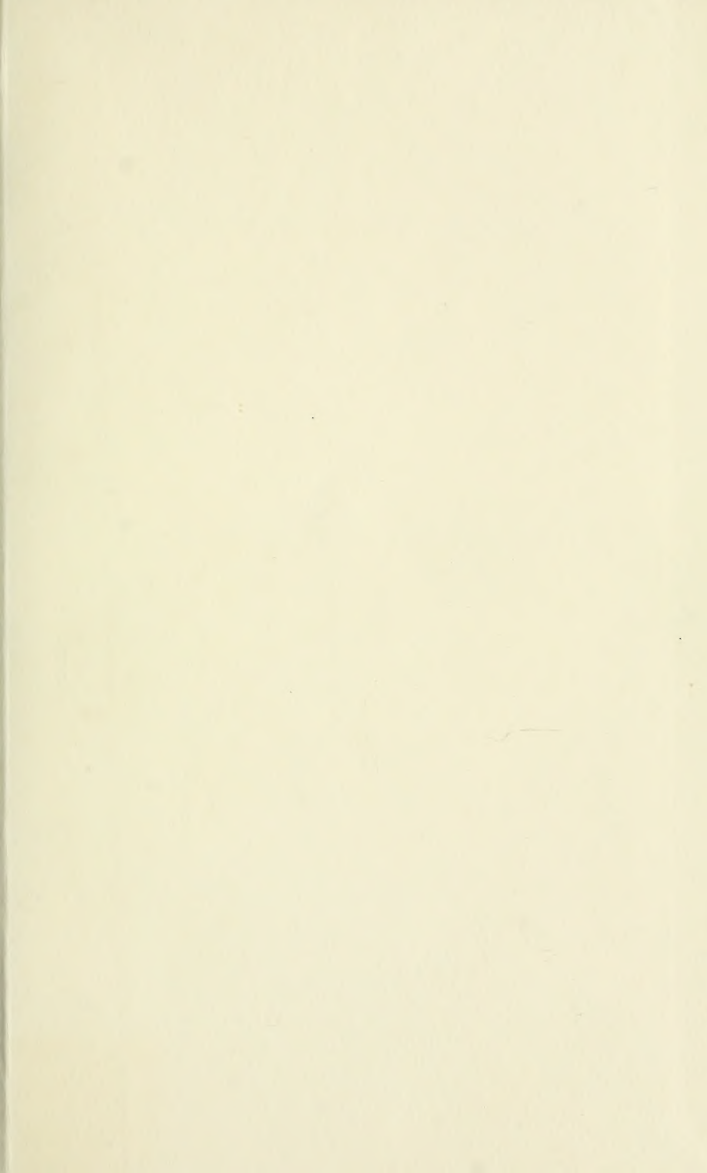


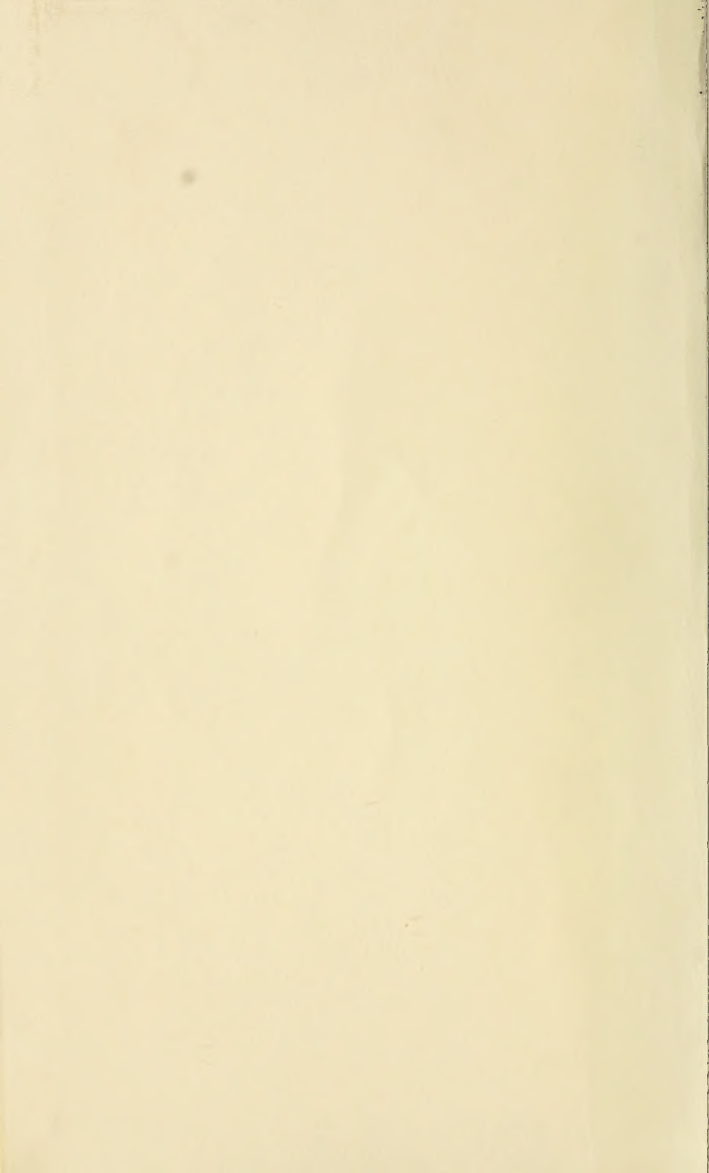
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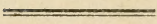
Political and Miscellaneous

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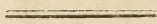
OF

THOMAS PAINE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.



VOL. II.



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RIGHTS OF MAN,

COMBINING

Principle and Practice.

BY

THOMAS PAINE.

PART II.

London:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY R. CARLILE, 55, FLEET STREET.

1819.

TO

M. DE LA FAYETTE.

AFTER an acquaintance of nearly fifteen years, in difficult situations in America, and various consultations in Europe, I feel a pleasure in presenting to you this small treatise, in gratitude for your services to my beloved America, and as a testimony of my esteem for the virtues, public and private, which I know you to possess.

The only point upon which I could ever discover that we differed, was not as to principles of Government, but as to time. For my own part, I think it equally as injurious to good principles to permit them to linger, as to push them on too fast. That which you suppose accomplishable in fourteen or fifteen years, I may believe practicable in a much shorter period. Mankind, as it appears to me, are always ripe enough to understand their true interest, provided it be presented clearly to their understanding, and that in a manner not to create suspicion by any thing like self-design, nor offend by assuming too much. Where we would wish to reform, we must not reproach.

TO M. DE LA FAYETTE.

When the American Revolution was established, I felt a disposition to sit serenely down and enjoy the calm. It did not appear to me that any object could afterwards arise great enough to make me quit tranquillity, and feel as I had felt before. But when principle and not place, is the energetic cause of action, a man, I find is every where the same.

I am now once more in the public world : and as I have not a right to contemplate on so many years of remaining life as you have, I am resolved to labour as fast as I can ; and as I am anxious for your aid and your company, I wish you to hasten your principles and overtake me.

If you make a campaign the ensuing spring, which it is most probable there will be no occasion for, I will come and join you. Should the campaign commence, I hope it will terminate in the extinction of German despotism, and in establishing the freedom of Germany. When France shall be surrounded with Revolutions, she will be in peace and safety, and her taxes, as well as those of Germany, will consequently become less.

Your sincere

Affectionate Friend,

THOMAS PAINE.

London, Feb. 9, 1792.

PREFACE.

WHEN I began the chapter entitled "*Conclusion*" in the former part of the RIGHTS OF MAN, published last year, it was my intention to have extended it to a greater length; but in casting the whole matter in my mind which I wished to add, I found that I must either make the work too bulky, or contract my plan too much, I therefore, brought it to a close as soon as the subject would admit, and reserved what I had further to say to another opportunity.

Several other reasons contributed to produce this determination. I wished to know the manner in which a work, written in a style of thinking and expression different to what had been customary in England, would be received before I ventured farther. A great field was opening to the view of mankind by means of the French Revolution. Mr. Burke's outrageous opposition thereto brought the controversy into England. He attacked principles which he knew (from information) I would contest with him, because they are principles which I believe to be good, and which I have contributed to establish, and conceive myself bound to defend. Had he not urged the controversy, I had most probably been a silent man.

Another reason for deferring the remainder of the work was, that Mr. Burke promised in his first publication to renew the subject at another opportunity, and to make a comparison of what he called the English and French Constitutions. I therefore held my

self in reserve for him. He has published two works since, without doing this; which he certainly would not have omitted, had the comparison been in his favour.

In his last work, "*His Appeal from the New to the Old Whigs*," he has quoted about ten pages from the *Rights of Man*, and having given himself the trouble of doing this, says, "he shall not attempt in the smallest degree to refute them," meaning the principles therein contained. I am enough acquainted with Mr. Burke to know that he would if he could. But instead of contesting them, he immediately after consoles himself with saying, that "he has done his part,"—He has not done his part. He has not performed his promise of a comparison of Constitutions. He started the controversy, he gave the challenge, and has fled from it; and he is now a *case in point* with his own opinion, that, "*the age of chivalry is gone!*"

The title, as well as the substance of his last Work, his "*Appeal*," is his condemnation. Principles must stand on their own merits, and if they are good they certainly will. To put them under the shelter of other men's authority, as Mr. Burke has done, serves to bring them into suspicion. Mr. Burke is not very fond of dividing his honours, but in this case he is artfully dividing the disgrace. But who are those to whom Mr. Burke made his Appeal? A set of childish thinkers, and half-way politicians born in the last century; men who went no farther with any principle than as it suited their purpose as a party; the Nation was always left out of the question; and this has been the character of every party from that day to this. The Nation sees nothing in

such Works, or such politics worthy its attention. A little matter will move a party, but it must be something great that moves a Nation.

Though I see nothing in Mr. Burke's Appeal worth taking much notice of, there is, however, one expression upon which I shall offer a few remarks.—After quoting largely from the “*Rights of Man*,” and declining to contest the principles contained in that work, he says, “This will most probably be done, (*if such writings shall be thought to deserve any other refutation than that of criminal justice*)” by others who may think with Mr. Burke, and with the same zeal.

In the first place, it has not yet been done by any body. Not less, I believe, than eight or ten pamphlets, intended as answers to the former part of the “*Rights of Man*,” have been published by different persons, and not one of them, to my knowledge, has extended to a second edition, nor are even the titles of them so much as generally remembered. As I am averse to unnecessarily multiplying publications, I have answered none of them. And as I believe that a man may write himself out of reputation, when nobody else can do it, I am careful to avoid that rock.

But as I would decline unnecessary publications on the one hand, so would I avoid every thing that might appear like sullen pride on the other. If Mr. Burke, or any person on his side the question, will produce an answer to the “*Rights of Man*,” that shall extend to an half, or even to a fourth part of the number of copies to which the “*Rights of Man*”

extended, I will reply to his work. But until this be done, I shall so far take the sense of the public for my guide, (and the world knows I am not a flatterer) that what they do not think worth while to read, is not worth mine to answer. I suppose the number of copies to which the first part of the "*Rights of Man*" extended, taking England, Scotland, and Ireland, is not less than between 40 and 50,000.

I now come to remark on the remaining part of the quotation I have made from Mr. Burke.

"If," says he, "such writings shall be thought to deserve any other refutation than that of *criminal justice*,"

Pardoning the pun, it must be *criminal* justice indeed, that should condemn a work as a substitute for not being able to refute it. The greatest condemnation that could be passed upon it, would be a refutation. But in proceeding by the method Mr. Burke alludes to, the condemnation would, in the final event, pass upon the criminality of the process, and not upon the work; and, in this case, I had rather be the author, than be either the judge, or the jury, that should condemn it.

But to come at once to the point. I have differed from some professional gentlemen on the subject of prosecutions, and I since find they are falling into my opinion, which I will here state as fully, but as concisely as I can.

I will first put a case with respect to any law, and then compare it with a Government, or with what in England is, or has been, called a Constitution.

It would be an act of despotism, or what in England is called arbitrary power, to make a law to

prohibit investigating the principles, good or bad, on which such a law, or any other is founded.

If a law be bad, it is one thing to oppose the practice of it, but it is quite a different thing to expose its errors, to reason on its defects, and to shew cause why it should be repealed, or why another ought to be substituted in its place. I have always held it an opinion (making it also my practice) that it is better to obey a bad law, making use at the same time, of every argument to shew its errors and procure its repeal, than forcibly to violate it; because the precedent of breaking a bad law, might weaken the force and lead to a discretionary violation of those which are good.

The case is the same with respect to principles and forms of Government, or to what are called Constitutions, and the parts of which they are composed.

It is for the good of Nations, and not for the emolument or aggrandizement of particular individuals, that Government ought to be established, and that mankind are at the expence of supporting it. The defects of every Government and Constitution, both as to principle and form, must, on a parity of reasoning, be as open to discussion as the defects of a Law, and it is a duty which every man owes to society to point them out. When those defects, and the means of remedying them, are generally seen by a Nation, that Nation will reform its Government or its Constitution in the one case, as the Government repealed or reformed the law in the other. The operation of Government is restricted to the making and the administering laws; but it is to a Nation that the right of forming or reforming, generating or regenerat-

ing Constitutions and Governments belong; and consequently, those subjects, as subjects of investigation, are always before a country *as a matter of right*, and cannot, without invading the general rights of the country, be made subjects for prosecution. On this ground I will meet Mr. Burke whenever he please. It is better that the whole argument should come out, than to seek to stifle it. It was himself that opened the controversy, and he ought not to desert it.

I do not believe that Monarchy and Aristocracy will continue seven years longer in any of the enlightened countries in Europe. If better reasons can be shewn for them than against them, they will stand; if the contrary, they will not. Mankind are not now to be told they shall not think, or they shall not read; and publications that go no farther than to investigate principles of Government, to invite men to reason and to reflect, and to shew the errors and excellencies of different systems, have a right to appear. If they do not excite attention, they are not worth the trouble of prosecution; and if they do, the prosecution will amount to nothing, since it cannot amount to a prohibition of reading. This would be a sentence on the public, instead of the author, and would also be the most effectual mode of making or hastening revolutions.

On all cases that apply universally to a Nation with respect to systems of Government, a jury of *twelve* men is not competent to decide. Where there are no witnesses to be examined, no facts to be proved, and where the whole matter is before the whole public, and the merits or demerits of it resting on

their opinion ; and where there is nothing to be known in a Court, but what every body knows out of it, every twelve men is equally as good a jury as the other, and would most probably reverse each other's verdict ; or from the variety of their opinions, not be able to form one. It is one case whether a Nation approve a work, or a plan ; but is quite another case, whether it will commit to any such jury the power of determining whether that Nation have a right to, or shall reform its Government, or not. I mention those cases, that Mr Burke may see I have not written on Government without reflecting on what is Law, as well as on what are Rights.—The only effectual jury in such cases would be a convention of the whole Nation fairly elected ; for in all such cases the whole Nation is the vicinage. If Mr. Burke will propose such a jury, I will wave all privileges of being the citizen of any other country, and, defending its principles, abide the issue, provided he will do the same : for my opinion is that his work and his principles would be condemned instead of mine.

As to the prejudices which men have from education and habit, in favour of any particular form or system of Government, those prejudices have yet to stand the test of reason and reflection. In fact, such prejudices are nothing. No man is prejudiced in favour of a thing, knowing it to be wrong. He is attached to it on the belief of its being right ; and when he sees it is not so, the prejudice will be gone. We have but a defective idea of what prejudice is. It might be said, that until men think for themselves, the whole is prejudice and *not opinion* ; for that only is opinion which is the result of reason and reflection. I offer

this remark, that Mr. Burke may not confide too much in what have been the customary prejudices of the country.

I do not believe that the People of England have ever been fairly and candidly dealt by. They have been imposed upon by parties, and by men assuming the character of leaders. It is time that the Nation should rise above those trifles. It is time to dismiss that inattention which has so long been the encouraging cause of stretching taxation to excess. It is time to dismiss all those songs and toasts which are calculated to enslave, and operate to suffocate reflection. On all such subjects, men have but to think, and they will neither act wrong, nor be misled. To say that any people are not fit for freedom, is to make poverty their choice, and to say they had rather be loaded with taxes than not. If such a case could be proved, it would equally prove, that those who govern are not fit to govern them, for they are a part of the same National mass.

But admitting Governments to be changed all over Europe, it certainly may be done without convulsion or revenge. It is not worth making changes or revolutions, unless it be for some great National benefit; and when this shall appear to a Nation, the danger will be, as in America and France, to those who oppose; and with this reflection I close my Preface.

THOMAS PAINE.

London, Feb. 9th, 1792.

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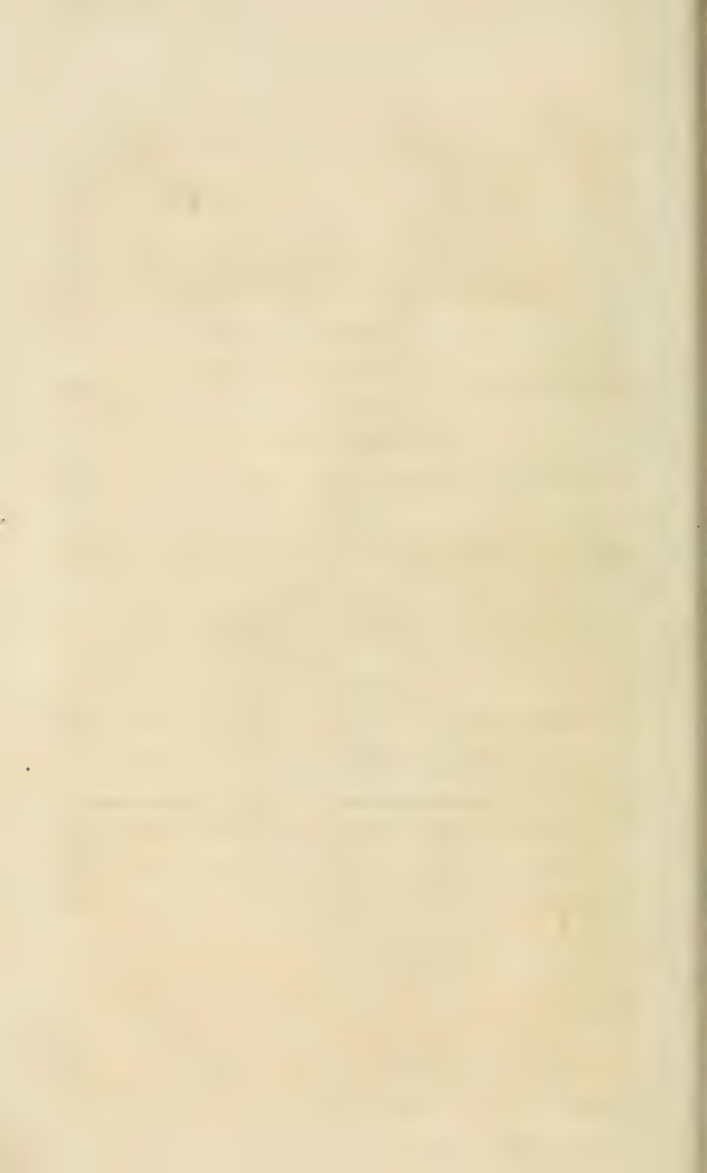
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RIGHTS OF MAN.

PART II.

INTRODUCTION.

WHAT Archimedes said of the mechanical powers, may be applied to Reason and Liberty: "*Had we,*" said he, "*a place to stand upon, we might raise the world.*"

The Revolution of America presented in politics what was only theory in mechanics. So deeply rooted were all the Governments of the old world, and so effectually had the tyranny and the antiquity of habit established itself over the mind, that no beginning could be made in Asia, Africa, or Europe, to reform the political condition of Man. Freedom had been hunted round the globe; reason was considered as rebellion; and the slavery of fear had made men afraid to think.

But such is the irresistible nature of truth, that all it asks, and all its wants, is the liberty of appearing. The sun needs no inscription to distinguish him from darkness; and no sooner did the American Governments display themselves to the world, than despotism felt a shock, and man began to contemplate redress.

The Independence of America, considered merely as a separation from England, would have been a matter of but little importance, had it not been accompanied by a Revolution in the principles and practice of Governments. She made a stand, not for herself only, but for the world, and looked beyond the advantages herself could receive. Even the Hessian, though hired to fight against her, may live to bless his defeat; and England, condemning the viciousness of its Government, rejoice in its miscarriage.

As America was the only spot in the political world, where the principles of universal reformation could begin, so also was it the best in the natural world. An assemblage of circumstances conspired, not only to give birth, but to add gigantic maturity to its principles. The scene which that country presents to the eye of a spectator, has something in it which generates and encourages great ideas. Nature appears to him in magnitude. The mighty objects he beholds, act upon his mind by enlarging it, and he partakes of the greatness he contemplates. Its first settlers were emigrants from different European nations, and of diversified professions of religion, retiring from the Governmental persecutions of the old world, and meeting in the new, not as enemies, but as brothers. The wants which necessarily accompany the cultivation of a wilderness, produced among them a state of society, which countries, long harassed by the quarrels and intrigues of Governments, had neglected to cherish. In such a situation Man becomes what he ought. He sees his species, not with the inhuman idea of a natural enemy, but as kindred; and the example shews to the artificial world, that Man must go back to Nature for information.

From the rapid progress which America makes in every species of improvement, it is rational to conclude, that if the Governments of Asia, Africa, and Europe, had begun on a principle similar to that of America, or had not been very early corrupted therefrom, those countries must, by this time, have been in a far superior condition to what they are. Age after age has passed away, for no other purpose than to behold their wretchedness. Could we suppose a spectator who knew nothing of the world, and who was put into it merely to make his observations, he would take a great part of the old world to be new, just struggling with the difficulties and hardships of an infant settlement. He could not suppose that the hordes of miserable poor, with which old countries abound, could be any other than those who had not yet had time to provide for themselves. Little would he think they were the consequence of what in such countries is called Government.

If, from the more wretched parts of the old world, we look at those which are in an advanced stage of improvement, we still find the greedy hand of Government thrusting itself into every corner and crevice of industry, and grasping the spoil of the multitude. Invention is continually exercised, to furnish new pretences for revenue and tax-

ation It watches prosperity as its prey, and permits none to escape without a tribute.

As revolutions have begun, (and as the probability is always greater against a thing beginning than of proceeding after it has begun), it is natural to expect that other revolutions will follow. The amazing and still increasing expences with which old Governments are conducted, the numerous wars they engage in, or provoke, the embarrassments they throw in the way of universal civilization and commerce, and the oppression and usurpation they practise at home, have wearied out the patience, and exhausted the property of the world. In such a situation, and with the examples already existing, revolutions are to be looked for. They are become subjects of universal conversation, and may be considered as the *Order of the Day*.

If systems of Government can be introduced, less expensive, and more productive of general happiness, than those which have existed, all attempts to oppose their progress will, in the end, be fruitless. Reason, like time, will make its own way, and prejudice will fall in a combat with interest. If universal peace, civilization, and commerce, are ever to be the happy lot of man, it cannot be accomplished but by a revolution in the system of Governments. All the monarchical Governments are military. War is their trade; plunder and revenue their objects. While such Governments continue, peace has not the absolute security of a day. What is the history of all monarchical Governments, but a disgustful picture of human wretchedness, and the accidental respite of a few years' repose? Wearied with war, and tired with human butchery, they sat down to rest, and called it peace. This certainly is not the condition that Heaven intended for Man; and if *this be monarchy*, well might monarchy be reckoned among the sins of the Jews.

The revolutions which formerly took place in the world, had nothing in them that interested the bulk of mankind. They extended only to a change of persons and measures, but not of principles, and rose or fell among the common transactions of the moment. What we now behold, may not improperly be called a "*counter revolution*." Conquest and tyranny, at some early period, dispossessed Man of his Rights, and he is now recovering them. And as the tide of all human affairs has its ebb and flow in directions contrary to each other, so also is it in this. Government founded on a *moral theory, on a system of universal peace, on the ind-*

feasible hereditary Rights of Man, is now revolving from West to East, by a stronger impulse than the Government of the sword revolved from East to West. It interests not particular individuals, but nations, in its progress, and promises a new era to the human race.

The danger to which the success of revolutions is most exposed, is that of attempting them before the principles on which they proceed, and the advantages to result from them, are sufficiently seen and understood. Almost every thing appertaining to the circumstances of a nation, has been absorbed and confounded under the general and mysterious word *Government*. Though it avoids taking to its account, the errors it commits, and the mischiefs it occasions, it fails not to arrogate to itself whatever has the appearance of prosperity. It robs industry of its honours, by pedantically making itself the cause of its effects; and purloins from the general character of Man, the merits that appertain to him as a social being.

It may, therefore, be of use in this day of revolutions, to discriminate between those things which are the effect of Government, and those which are not. This will best be done by taking a review of society and civilization, and the consequences resulting therefrom, as things distinct from what are called Governments. By beginning with this investigation, we shall be able to assign effects to their proper cause, and analyze the mass of common errors.

CHAPTER I.

Of Society and Civilization.

GREAT part of that order which reigns among mankind, is not the effect of Government. It has its origin in the principals of society and the natural constitution of Man. It existed prior to Government, and would exist if the formality of Government were abolished. The mutual dependence and reciprocal interest which Man has upon Man, and all the parts of a civilized community upon each other, create that great chain of connection which holds it together. The landlord, the farmer, the manufacturer, the merchant, the tradesman, and every occupation, prospers by the aid which each receives from the other, and from the whole. Common interest regulates their concerns, and forms their law; and the laws which common usage ordains, have a greater influence than the laws of Government. In fine, society performs for itself almost every thing which is ascribed to Government.

To understand the nature and quantity of Government proper for Man, it is necessary to attend to his character. As Nature created him for social life, she fitted him for the station she intended. In all cases, she made his natural wants greater than his individual powers. No one man is capable, without the aid of society, of supplying his own wants; and those wants, acting upon every individual, impel the whole of them into society, as naturally as gravitation acts to a centre.

But she has gone farther. She has not only forced Man into society, by a diversity of wants, which the reciprocal aid of each other can supply, but she has implanted in him a system of social affections, which though not necessary to his existence, are essential to his happiness. There is no period in life when this love for society ceases to act. It begins and ends with our being.

If we examine, with attention, into the composition and constitution of Man, the diversity of his wants, and the diversity of talents in different men for reciprocally accommo-

dating the wants of each other, his propensity to society, and, consequently, to preserve the advantages resulting from it, we shall easily discover, that a great part of what is called Government is mere imposition.

Government is no farther necessary than to supply the few cases to which society and civilization are not conveniently competent; and instances are not wanting to shew, that every thing which Government can usefully add thereto, has been performed by the common consent of society, without Government.

For upwards of two years, from the commencement of the American war, and to a longer period in several of the American States, there were no established forms of Government. The old Governments had been abolished, and the country was too much occupied in defence, to employ its attention in establishing new Governments; yet during this interval, order and harmony were preserved as inviolate as in any country in Europe. There is a natural aptness in Man, and more so in society, because it embraces a greater variety of abilities and resource, to accommodate itself to whatever situation it is in. The instant formal Government is abolished, society begins to act. A general association takes place, and common interest produces common security.

So far is it from being true, as has been pretended, that the abolition of any formal Government is the dissolution of society, that it acts by a contrary impulse, and brings the latter the closer together. All that part of its organization which it had committed to its Government, devolves again upon itself, and acts through its medium. When men, as well from natural instinct, as from reciprocal benefits, have habituated themselves to social and civilized life, there is always enough of its principles in practice to carry them through any changes they may find necessary or convenient to make in their Government. In short, Man is so naturally a creature of society, that it is almost impossible to put him out of it.

Formal Government makes but a small part of civilized life; and when even the best that human wisdom can devise is established, it is a thing more in name and idea, than in fact. It is to the great and fundamental principles of society and civilization—to the common usage universally consented to, and mutually and reciprocally maintained—to the unceasing circulation of interest, which, passing through its million channels, invigorates the whole mass of civilized Man—it is to these things infinitely more than to any thing

which even the best instituted Government can perform, that the safety and prosperity of the individual and of the whole depends.

The more perfect civilization is, the less occasion has it for Government, because the more does it regulate its own affairs, and govern itself; but so contrary is the practice of old Governments to the reason of the case, that the expences of them increase in the proportion they ought to diminish. It is but few general laws that civilized life requires, and those of such common usefulness, that whether they are enforced by the forms of Government or not, the effect will be nearly the same. If we consider what the principles are that first condense men into society, and what the motives that regulate their mutual intercourse afterwards, we shall find, by the time we arrive at what is called Government, that nearly the whole of the business is performed by the natural operation of the parts upon each other.

Man, with respect to all those matters, is more a creature of consistency than he is aware, or that Governments would wish him to believe. All the great laws of society are laws of nature. Those of trade and commerce, whether with respect to the intercourse of individuals, or of Nations, are laws of mutual and reciprocal interest. They are followed and obeyed, because it is the interest of the parties so to do, and not on account of any formal laws their Governments may impose or interpose.

But how often is the natural propensity to society disturbed or destroyed by the operations of Government. When the latter, instead of being engrafted on the principles of the former, assumes to exist for itself, and acts by partialities of favour and oppression it becomes the cause of the mischiefs it ought to prevent.

If we look back to the riots and tumults, which at various times have happened in England, we shall find, that they did not proceed from the want of a Government, but that Government was itself the generating cause; instead of consolidating society it divided it; it deprived it of its natural cohesion, and engendered discontents and disorders, which otherwise would not have existed. In those associations which men promiscuously form for the purpose of trade, or of any concern, in which Government is totally out of the question, and in which they act merely on the principles of society, we see how naturally the various parties unite; and this shews, by comparison, that Governments, so far from being always the cause or means of order, are often the

destruction of it. The riots of 1780 had no other source than the remains of those prejudices, which the Government itself had encouraged. But with respect to England there are also other causes.

Excess and inequality of taxation, however disguised in the means, never fail to appear in their effects. As a great mass of the community are thrown thereby into poverty and discontent, they are constantly on the brink of commotion; and deprived, as they unfortunately are, of the means of information, are easily heated to outrage. Whatever the apparent cause of any riots may be, the real one is always want of happiness. It shews, that something is wrong in the system of Government, that injures the felicity by which society is to be preserved.

But as fact is superior to reasoning, the instance of America presents itself to confirm these observations. If there be a country in the world, where concord, according to common calculation, would be least expected, it is America. Made up, as it is, of people from different Nations,* accustomed to different forms and habits of Government, speaking different languages, and more different in their modes of worship, it would appear that the union of such a people was impracticable; but by the simple operation of constructing Government on the principles of society and the Rights of Man, every difficulty retires, and all the parts are brought into cordial unison. There the poor are not oppressed, the rich are not privileged. Industry is not mortified by the splendid extravagance of a court rioting at its expence. Their taxes are few, because their Government is just; and as there is nothing to render them wretched, there is nothing to engender riots and tumults.

* That part of America which is generally called New-England, including New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island, and Connecticut, is peopled chiefly by English descendants. In the State of New York, about half are Dutch, the rest English, Scotch, and Irish. In New Jersey, a mixture of English and Dutch, with some Scotch and Irish. In Pennsylvania, about one third are English, another Germans, and the remainder Scotch and Irish, with some Swedes. The States to the Southward have a greater proportion of English than the middle States, but in all of them there is a mixture; and besides those enumerated, there are a considerable number of French, and some few of all the European nations lying on the coast. The most numerous religious denomination are the Presbyterians: but no one sect is established above another, and all men are equally citizens.

A metaphysical man, like Mr. Burke, would have tortured his invention to discover how such a people could be governed. He would have supposed that some must be managed by fraud, others by force, and all by some contrivance; that genius must be hired to impose upon ignorance, and shew and parade to fascinate the vulgar. Lost in the abundance of his researches, he would have resolved and re-resolved, and finally overlooked the plain and easy road that lay directly before him.

One of the great advantages of the American Revolution has been, that it led to a discovery of the principles, and laid open the imposition, of Governments. All the revolutions till then had been worked within the atmosphere of a court, and never on the great floor of a nation. The parties were always of the class of courtiers; and whatever was their rage for reformation, they carefully preserved the fraud of the profession.

In all cases they took care to represent Government as a thing made up of mysteries, which only themselves understood; and they hid from the understanding of the nation the only thing that was beneficial to know, namely, *That Government is nothing more than a national association acting upon the principles of society.*

Having thus endeavoured to shew, that the social and civilized state of man is capable of performing within itself almost every thing necessary to its protection and government, it will be proper, on the other hand, to take a review of the present old Governments, and examine whether their principles and practice are correspondent thereto.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Origin of the present Old Governments.

It is impossible that such Governments as have hitherto existed in the world could have commenced by any other means than a total violation of every principle, sacred and moral. The obscurity in which the origin of all the present old Governments is buried, implies the iniquity and disgrace with which they began. The origin of the present Government of America and France will ever be remembered, because it is honourable to record it; but with respect to the rest, even flattery has consigned them to the tomb of time, without an inscription. It could have been no difficult thing in the early and solitary ages of the world, while the chief employment of men was that of attending flocks and herds, for a banditti of ruffians to overrun a country and lay it under contributions. Their power being thus established, the chief of the band contrived to lose the name of robber in that of monarch; and hence the origin of monarchy and kings.

The origin of the Government of England, so far as relates to what is called its line of monarchy being one of the latest, is, perhaps, the best recorded. The hatred which the Norman invasion and tyranny begat, must have been deeply rooted in the nation, to have outlived the contrivance to obliterate it. Though not a courtier will talk of the carfew-bell, not a village in England has forgotten it.

Those bands of robbers having parcelled out the world, and divided it into dominions, began, as is naturally the case, to quarrel with each other. What at first was obtained by violence, was considered by others as lawful to be taken, and a second plunderer succeeded the first. They alternately invaded the dominions which each had assigned to himself, and the brutality with which they treated each other explains the original character of monarchy. It was ruffian torturing ruffian. The conqueror considered the conquered, not as his prisoner, but his property. He led him in triumph rattling in chains, and doomed him at pleasure, to slavery or death. As time obliterated the history

of their beginning, their successors assumed new appearances to cut off the entail of their disgrace, but their principles and objects remained the same. What, at first, was plunder, assumed the softer name of revenue; and the power originally usurped they affected to inherit.

From such beginning of Governments, what could be expected but a continual system of war and extortion? It has established itself into a trade. The vice is not peculiar to one more than to another, but is the common principle of all. There does not exist within such Governments sufficient stamina whereon to engraft reformation; and the shortest, easiest, and most effectual remedy, is to begin anew on the ground of the oration.

What scenes of horror, what perfection of iniquity, present themselves in contemplating the character, and reviewing the history of such Governments! If we would delineate human nature with a baseness of heart, and hypocrisy of countenance, that reflection would shudder at, and humanity disown, it is Kings, Courts, and Cabinets, that must sit for the portrait. Man, naturally as he is, with all his faults about him, is not up to the character.

Can we possibly suppose, that if Governments had originated in a right principle, and had not an interest in pursuing a wrong one, that the world could have been in the wretched and quarrelsome condition we have seen it? What inducement has the farmer, while following the plough, to lay aside his peaceful pursuit, and go to war with the farmer of another country? Or what inducement has the manufacturer? What is dominion to them, or to any class of men in a nation? Does it add an acre to any man's estate, or raise its value? Are not conquest and defeat each of the same price, and taxes the never-failing consequence? Though this reasoning may be good to a nation, it is not to a Government. War is the Pharo-table of Governments, and nations the dupes of the games.

If there is any thing to wonder at in this miserable scene of Governments more than might be expected, it is the progress which the peaceful arts of agriculture, manufacture and commerce have made beneath such a long accumulating load of discouragement and oppression. It serves to shew, that instinct in animals does not act with stronger impulse than the principles of society and civilization operate in man. Under all discouragements, he pursues his object, and yields to nothing but impossibilities.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Old and New Systems of Government.

NOTHING can appear more contradictory than the principles on which the old Governments began, and the condition to which society, civilization, and commerce, are capable of carrying mankind. Government on the old system is an assumption of power for the aggrandizement of itself; on the new, a delegation of power for the common benefit of society. The former supports itself by keeping up a system of war; the latter promotes a system of peace, as the true means of enriching a nation. The one encourages national prejudices; the other promotes universal society, as the means of universal commerce. The one measures its prosperity by the quantity of revenue it extorts; the other proves its excellence by the small quantity of taxes it requires.

Mr. Burke has talked of old and new Whigs. If he can amuse himself with childish names and distinctions, I shall not interrupt his pleasure. It is not to him, but to the Abbe Sieyes, that I address this chapter. I am already engaged to the latter gentleman to discuss the subject of monarchical Government; and as it naturally occurs in comparing the old and new systems, I make this the opportunity of presenting to him my observations. I shall occasionally take Mr. Burke in my way.

Though it might be proved that the system of Government now called the NEW is the most ancient in principle of all that have existed, being founded on the original inherent Rights of Man; yet, as tyranny and the sword have suspended the exercise of those rights for many centuries past, it serves better the purpose of distinction to call it the *new*, than to claim the right of calling it the old.

The first general distinction between those two systems, is, that the one now called the old is *hereditary*, either in whole or in part; and the new is entirely *representative*. It rejects all hereditary Government:

First, as being an imposition on mankind.

Secondly, As inadequate to the purposes for which Government is necessary.

With respect to the first of these heads—It cannot be proved by what right hereditary Government could begin: neither does there exist within the compass of mortal power a right to establish it. Man has no authority over posterity in matters of personal right; and therefore, no man, or body of men, had, or can have, a right to set up hereditary Government. Were even ourselves to come again into existence, instead of being succeeded by posterity, we have not now the right of taking from ourselves the rights which would then be our's. On what ground, then, do we pretend to take them from others?

All hereditary Government is in its nature tyranny. An heritable Crown, or an heritable Throne, or by what other fanciful name such things may be called, have no other significant explanation, than that mankind are heritable property. To inherit a Government, is to inherit the People, as if they were flocks and herds.

With respect to the second head, that of being inadequate to the purposes for which Government is necessary, we have only to consider what Government essentially is, and compare it with the circumstances to which hereditary succession is subject.

Government ought to be a thing always in full maturity. It ought to be so constructed as to be superior to all the accidents to which individual man is subject; and therefore, hereditary succession, by being *subject to them all*, is the most irregular and imperfect of all the systems of Government.

We have heard the *Rights of Man* called a *levelling* system; but the only system to which the word *levelling* is truly applicable, is the hereditary monarchical system. It is a system of *mental levelling*. It indiscriminately admits every species of character to the same authority. Vice and virtue, ignorance and wisdom, in short, every quality, good or bad, is put on the same level. Kings succeed each other, not as rationals, but as animals. It signifies not what their mental or moral characters are. Can we then be surprised at the abject state of the human mind in monarchical countries, when the Government itself is formed on such an abject levelling system?—It has no fixed character. To-day it is one thing; to-morrow it is something else. It changes with the temper of every succeeding individual, and is subject to all the varieties of each. It is Government through

the medium of passions and accidents. It appears under all the various characters of childhood, decrepitude, dotage, a thing at nurse, in leading-strings, or in crutches. It reverses the wholesome order of nature. It occasionally puts children over men, and the conceits of non-age over wisdom and experience. In short, we cannot conceive a more ridiculous figure of Government, than hereditary succession, in all its cases, presents.

Could it be made a decree in nature, or an edict registered in Heaven, and man could know it, that virtue and wisdom should invariably appertain to hereditary succession, the objections to it would be removed; but when we see that Nature acts as if she disowned and sported with the hereditary system; that the mental characters of successors, in all countries, are below the average of human understanding; that one is a tyrant, another an idiot, a third insane, and some all three together, it is impossible to attach confidence to it, when reason in man has power to act.

It is not to the Abbe Syeyes that I need apply this reasoning; he has already saved me that trouble, by giving his own opinion upon the case. "If it be asked," says he, "what is my opinion with respect to hereditary right, I answer, without hesitation, That, in good theory, an hereditary transmission of any power or office, can never accord with the laws of a true representation. Hereditaryship is, in this sense, as much an attain upon principle, as an outrage upon society. But let us," continues he, "refer to the history of all elective monarchies and principalities: Is there one in which the elective mode is not worse than the hereditary succession?"

As to debating on which is the worst of the two, is admitting both to be bad; and herein we are agreed. The preference which the Abbe has given, is a condemnation of the thing he prefers. Such a mode of reasoning on such a subject is inadmissible, because it finally amounts to an accusation upon Providence, as if she had left to man no other choice with respect to Government than between two evils, the best of which he admits to be "*an attain upon principle, and an outrage upon society.*"

Passing over, for the present, all the evils and mischiefs which monarchy has occasioned in the world, nothing can more effectually prove its uselessness in a state of *civil Government*, than making it hereditary. Would we make any office hereditary that required wisdom and abilities to fill it? and where wisdom and abilities are not necessary, such

an office, whatever it may be, is superfluous or insignificant.

Hereditary succession is a burlesque upon monarchy. It puts it in the most ridiculous light, by presenting it as an office, which any child or idiot may fill. It requires some talents to be a common mechanic; but to be a King, requires only the animal figure of a man—a sort of breathing automaton. This sort of superstition may last a few years more, but it cannot long resist the awakened reason and interest of man.

As to Mr. Burke, he is a stickler for monarchy, not altogether as a pensioner, if he is one, which I believe, but as a political man.

He has taken up a contemptible opinion of mankind, who, in their turn, are taking up the same of him. He considers them as a herd of beings that must be governed by fraud, effigy, and shew; and an idol would be as good a figure of monarchy with him, as a man. I will, however, do him the justice to say, that, with respect to America, he has been very complimentary. He always contended, at least in my hearing, that the people of America were more enlightened than those of England, or of any country in Europe; and that therefore the imposition of shew was not necessary in their Governments.

Though the comparison between hereditary and elective monarchy, which the Abbé has made, is unnecessary to the case, because the representative system rejects both; yet, were I to make the comparison, I should decide contrary to what he has done.

The civil wars which have originated from contested hereditary claims, are more numerous and have been more dreadful, and of longer continuance, than those which have been occasioned by election. All the civil wars in France arose from the hereditary system; they were either produced by hereditary claims, or by the imperfection of the hereditary form, which admits of regencies, or monarchies at nurse. With respect to England, its history is full of the same misfortunes. The contests for succession between the houses of York and Lancaster, lasted a whole century; and others of a similar nature, have renewed themselves since that period. Those of 1715 and 1745, were of the same kind. The succession war for the crown of Spain, embroiled almost half Europe. The disturbances in Holland are generated from the hereditaryship of the Stadtholder. A Government calling itself free, with an hereditary office,

is like a thorn in the flesh, that produces a fermentation which endeavours to discharge it.

But I might go further, and place also foreign wars, of whatever kind, to the same cause. It is by adding the evil of hereditary succession to that of monarchy, that a permanent family interest is created, whose constant objects are dominion and revenue. Poland, though an elective monarchy, has had fewer wars than those which are hereditary; and it is the only Government that has made a voluntary essay, though but a small one, to reform the condition of the country.

Having thus glanced at a few of the defects of the old, or hereditary systems of Government, let us compare it with the new or representative system.

The representative system takes society and civilization for its basis; nature, reason, and experience for its guide.

Experience, in all ages, and in all countries, has demonstrated, that it is impossible to controul Nature in her distribution of mental powers. She gives them as she pleases. Whatever is the rule by which she, apparently to us, scatters them among mankind, that rule remains a secret to man. It would be as ridiculous to attempt to fix the hereditaryship of human beauty, as of wisdom. Whatever wisdom constitutently is, it is like a seedless plant; it may be reared when it appears, but it cannot be voluntarily produced. There is always a sufficiency somewhere in the general mass of society for all purposes; but with respect to the parts of society it is continually changing its place. It rises in one to-day, in another to-morrow, and has most probably visited in rotation every family of the earth, and again withdrawn.

As this is the order of nature, the order of Government must necessarily follow it, or Government will, as we see it does, degenerate into ignorance. The hereditary system, therefore, is as repugnant to human wisdom, as to human rights; and is as absurd as it is unjust.

As the republic of letters brings forward the best literary productions, by giving to genius a fair and universal chance; so the representative system of Government is calculated to produce the wisest laws, by collecting wisdom from where it can be found. I smile to myself when I contemplate the ridiculous insignificance into which literature and all the sciences would sink, were they made hereditary; and I carry the same idea into Governments. An hereditary governor is as inconsistent as an hereditary author. I know

not whether Homer or Euclid had sons; but I will venture an opinion, that if they had, and had left their works unfinished, those sons could not have completed them.

Do we need a stronger evidence of the absurdity of hereditary Government, than is seen in the descendants of those men, in any line of life, who once were famous? Is there scarcely an instance in which there is not a total reverse of the character? It appears as if the tide of mental faculties flowed as far as it could in certain channels, and then forsook its course, and arose in others. How irrational then, is the hereditary system which establishes channels of power, in company with which wisdom refuses to flow! By continuing this absurdity, man is perpetually in contradiction with himself; he accepts, for a King, or a Chief Magistrate, or a Legislator, a person whom he would not elect for a Constable.

It appears to general observation, that revolutions create genius and talents; but those events do no more than bring them forward. There is existing in man, a mass of sense lying in a dormant state, and which, unless something excites it to action, will descend with him, in that condition, to the grave. As it is to the advantage of society that the whole of its faculties should be employed, the construction of Government ought to be such as to bring forward, by a quiet and regular operation, all that extent of capacity which never fails to appear in revolutions.

This cannot take place in the insipid state of hereditary Government, not only because it prevents, but because it operates to benumb. When the mind of a nation is bowed down by any political superstition in its Government such as hereditary succession is, it loses a considerable portion of its powers on all other subjects and objects. Hereditary succession requires the same obedience to ignorance, as to wisdom; and when once the mind can bring itself to pay this indiscriminate reverence, it descends below the stature of mental manhood. It is fit to be great only in little things. It acts a treachery upon itself, and suffocates the sensations that urge the detection.

Though the ancient Governments present to us a miserable picture of the condition of man, there is one which above all others exempts itself from the general description. I mean the democracy of the Athenians. We see more to admire, and less to condemn, in that great, extraordinary people, than in any thing which history affords.

Mr. Burke is so little acquainted with constituent princi-

ples of Government, that he confounds democracy and representation together. Representation was a thing unknown in the ancient democracies. In those the mass of the People met and enacted laws (grammatically speaking) in the first person. Simple democracy was no other than the common-hall of the ancients. It signifies the *form*, as well as the public principle of the Government. As these democracies increased in population, and the territory extended, the simple democratical form became unwieldy and impracticable; and as the system of representation was not known, the consequence was, they either degenerated convulsively into monarchies, or became absorbed into such as then existed. Had the system of representation been then understood, as it now is, there is no reason to believe that those forms of Government, now called monarchical and aristocratical, would ever have taken place. It was the want of some method to consolidate the parts of society, after it became too populous, and too extensive for the simple democratical form, and also the lax and solitary condition of shepherds and herdsmen in other parts of the world, that afforded opportunities to those unnatural modes of Government to begin.

As it is necessary to clear away the rubbish of errors, into which the subject of Government has been thrown, I shall proceed to remark on some others.

It has always been the political craft of courtiers and Court Governments, to abuse something which they called republicanism; but what republicanism was, or is, they never attempt to explain. Let us examine a little into this case.

The only forms of Government are, the democratical, the aristocratical, the monarchical, and what is now called the representative.

What is called a *republic*, is not any *particular form* of Government. It is wholly characteristic of the purport, matter, or object for which Government ought to be instituted, and on which it is to be employed, RES-PUBLICA, the public affairs, or the public good; or, literally translated, the *public thing*. It is a word of a good original, referring to what ought to be the character and business of Government; and in this sense it is naturally opposed to the word *monarchy*, which has a base original signification. It means arbitrary power in an individual person; in the exercise of which, *himself*, and not the *res-publica*, is the object.

Every Government that does not act on the principle of a

Republic, or in other words, that does not make the *res-publica* its whole and sole object, is not a good Government. Republican Government is no other than Government established and conducted for the interest of the public, as well individually as collectively. It is not necessarily connected with any particular form, but it most naturally associates with the representative form, as being best calculated to secure the end for which a nation is at the expence of supporting it.

Various forms of Government have affected to style themselves a republic. Poland calls itself a republic, which is an hereditary aristocracy with what is called an elective monarchy. Holland calls itself a republic, which is chiefly aristocratical, with an hereditary Stadtholdership. But the Government of America, which is wholly on the system of representation, is the only real republic in character and in practice that now exists. Its Government has no other object than the public business of the nation, and therefore it is properly a republic; and the Americans have taken care that THIS, and no other, shall always be the object of their Government, by their rejecting every thing hereditary, and establishing Government on the system of representation only.

Those who have said that a republic is not a *form* of Government calculated for countries of great extent, mistook, in the first place, the *business* of a Government for a *form* of Government; for the *res-publica* equally appertains to every extent of territory and population. And, in the second place, if they meant any thing with respect to *form*, it was the simple democratical form, such was the mode of Government in the ancient democracies, in which there was no representation. The case, therefore, is not that a republic cannot be extensive, but that it cannot be extensive on the simple democratical form; and the question naturally presents itself, *What is the best form of Government for conducting the RES-PUBLICA, or the PUBLIC BUSINESS of a nation, after it becomes too extensive and populous for the simple democratical form?*

It cannot be monarchy, because monarchy is subject to an objection of the same amount to which the simple democratical form was subject.

It is probable that an individual may lay down a system of principles on which Government shall be constitutionally established to any extent of territory. This is no more than an operation of the mind, acting by its own power. But

the practice upon those principles, as applying to the various and numerous circumstances of a nation, its agriculture, manufacture, trade, commerce, &c. &c. requires a knowledge of a different kind, and which can be had only from the various parts of society. It is an assemblage of practical knowledge, which no one individual can possess; and therefore the monarchical form is as much limited, in useful practice, from the incompetency of knowledge, as was the democratical form, from the multiplicity of population. The one degenerates, by extension, into confusion; the other, into ignorance and incapacity, of which all the great monarchies are an evidence. The monarchical form, therefore, could not be a substitute for the democratical, because it has equal inconveniences.

Much less could it when made hereditary. This is the most effectual of all forms to preclude knowledge. Neither could the high democratical mind have voluntarily yielded itself to be governed by children and idiots, and all the motley insignificance of character, which attends such a mere animal system, the disgrace and the reproach of reason and of man.

As to the aristocratical form, it has the same vices and defects with the monarchical, except that the chance of abilities is better from the proportion of numbers, but there is still no security for the right use and application of them*.

Referring, then, to the original simple democracy, it affords the true data from which Government on a large scale can begin. It is incapable of extension, not from its principle, but from the inconvenience of its form; and monarchy and aristocracy, from their incapacity. Retaining, then, democracy as the ground, and rejecting the corrupt systems of monarchy and aristocracy, the representative system naturally presents itself, remedying at once the defects of the simple democracy as to form, and the incapacity of the other two with respect to knowledge.

Simple democracy was society governing itself without the aid of secondary means. By ingrafting representation upon democracy, we arrive at a system of Government capable of embracing and confederating all the various interests and every extent of territory and population; and

* For a character of aristocracy, the reader is referred to **RIGHTS OF MAN**, Part I. page 38.

that also with advantages as much superior to hereditary Government, as the republic of letters is to hereditary literature.

It is on this system that the American Government is founded. It is representation ingrafted upon democracy. It has fixed the form by a scale parallel in all cases to the extent of the principle. What Athens was in miniature, America will be in magnitude. The one was the wonder of the ancient world; the other is becoming the admiration, the model, of the present. It is the easiest of all the forms of Government to be understood, and the most eligible in practice; and excludes at once the ignorance and insecurity of the hereditary mode, and the inconvenience of the simple democracy.

It is impossible to conceive a system of Government capable of acting over such an extent of territory, and such a circle of interests, as is immediately produced by the operation of representation. France, great and populous as it is, is but a spot in the capaciousness of the system. It adapts itself to all possible cases. It is preferable to simple democracy even in small territories. Athens, by representation, would have outrivalled her own democracy.

That which is called Government, or rather that which we ought to conceive Government to be, is no more than some common centre, in which all the parts of society unite. This cannot be accomplished by any method so conducive to the various interests of the community, as by the representative system. It concentrates the knowledge necessary to the interest of the parts, and of the whole. It places Government in a state of constant maturity. It is, as has been already observed, never young, never old. It is subject neither to nonage, nor dotage. It is never in the cradle, nor on crutches. It admits not of a separation between knowledge and power, and is superior, as Government always ought to be, to all the accidents of individual man, and is therefore superior to what is called monarchy.

A nation is not a body, the figure of which is to be represented by the human body; but is like a body contained within a circle, having a common centre, in which every radius meets; and that centre is formed by representation. To connect representation with what is called monarchy, is eccentric Government. Representation is of itself the delegated monarchy of a nation, and cannot debase itself by dividing it with another.

Mr. Burke has two or three times, in his Parliamentary

speeches, and in his publications, made use of a jingle of words that convey no ideas. Speaking of Government, he says, "It is better to have monarchy for its basis, and republicanism for its corrective, than republicanism for its basis, and monarchy for its corrective." If he means that it is better to correct folly with wisdom, than wisdom with folly, I will no otherwise contend with him, than that it would be much better to reject the folly entirely.

But what is this thing which Mr. Burke calls monarchy? Will he explain it? All men can understand what representation is; and that it must necessarily include a variety of knowledge and talents. But, what security is there for the same qualities on the part of monarchy? or, when this monarchy is a child, where then is the wisdom? What does it know about Government? Who then is the monarch, or where is the monarchy? If it is to be performed by a regency, it proves it to be a farce. A regency is a mock species of republic, and the whole of monarchy deserves no better description. It is a thing as various as imagination can paint. It has none of the stable character that Government ought to possess. Every succession is a revolution, and every regency a counter-revolution. The whole of it is a scene of perpetual Court cabal and intrigue, of which Mr. Burke is himself an instance. To render monarchy consistent with Government, the next in succession should not be born a child, but a man at once, and that man a Solomon. It is ridiculous that nations are to wait, and Government be interrupted, till boys grow to men.

Whether I have too little sense to see, or too much to be imposed upon; whether I have too much or too little pride, or of any thing else, I leave out of the question; but certain it is, that what is called monarchy, always appears to me a silly, contemptible thing. I compare it to something kept behind a curtain, about which there is a great deal of bustle and fuss, and a wonderful air of seeming solemnity; but when by any accident, the curtain happens to be open, and the company see what it is, they burst into laughter.

In the representative system of Government, nothing of this can happen. Like the nation itself, it possesses a perpetual stamina, as well of body as of mind, and presents itself on the open theatre of the world in a fair and manly manner. Whatever are its excellences or its defects, they are visible to all. It exists not by fraud and mystery; it deals not in cant and sophistry; but inspires a language, that, passing from heart to heart, is felt and understood.

We must shut our eyes against reason, we must basely degrade our understanding, not to see the folly of what is called monarchy. Nature is orderly in all her works; but this is a mode of Government that counteracts nature. It turns the progress of the human faculties upside down. It subjects age to be governed by children, and wisdom by folly.

On the contrary, the representative system is always parallel with the order and immutable laws of nature, and meets the reason of man in every part. For example:

In the American federal Government, more power is delegated to the President of the United States, than to any other individual member of Congress. He cannot, therefore, be elected to this office under the age of thirty-five years. By this time the judgment of man becomes matured, and he has lived long enough to be acquainted with men and things, and the country with him. But on the monarchical plan, (exclusive of the numerous chances there are against every man born into the world, of drawing a prize in the lottery of human faculties), the next in succession, whatever he may be, is put at the head of a nation, and of a Government, at the age of eighteen years. Does this appear like an act of wisdom? Is it consistent with the proper dignity and the manly character of a nation? Where is the propriety of calling such a lad the father of the People?—In all other cases, a person is a minor until the age of twenty-one years. Before this period, he is not trusted with the management of an acre of land, or with the heritable property of a flock of sheep, or an herd of swine; but, wonderful to tell! he may, at the age of eighteen years, be trusted with a nation.

That monarchy is all a bubble, a mere court artifice to procure money, is evident, (at least to me), in every character in which it can be viewed. It would be impossible, on the rational system of representative Government, to make out a bill of expences to such an enormous amount as this deception admits. Government is not of itself a very chargeable institution. The whole expence of the federal Government of America, founded, as I have already said, on the system of representation, and extending over a country nearly ten times as large as England, is but six hundred thousand dollars, or one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds sterling.

I presume, that no man in his sober senses, will compare the character of any of the kings of Europe with that of

General Washington. Yet, in France, and also in England, the expence of the Civil List only, for the support of one man, is eight times greater than the whole expence of the federal Government in America. To assign a reason for this, appears almost impossible. The generality of People in America, especially the poor, are more able to pay taxes than the generality of People either in France or England.

In the representative system, the reason for every thing must publicly appear. Every man is a proprietor in Government, and considers it a necessary part of his business to understand. It concerns his interest, because it affects his property. He examines the cost and compares it with the advantages; and above all, he does not adopt the slavish custom of following what in other Governments are called LEADERS.

It can only be by blinding the understanding of Man, and making him believe that Government is some wonderful mysterious thing, that excessive revenues are obtained. Monarchy is well calculated to ensure this end. It is the popery of Government; a thing kept to amuse the ignorant, and quiet them into taxes.

The Government of a free country, properly speaking, is not in the persons, but in the laws. The enacting of those requires no great expence; and when they are administered, the whole of civil Government is performed—the rest is all court contrivance.

But the case is, that the representative system diffuses such a body of knowledge throughout a nation, on the subject of Government, as to explode ignorance and preclude imposition. The craft of courts cannot be acted on that ground. There is no place for mystery; no where for it to begin. Those who are not in the representation, know as much of the nature of business as those who are. An affectation of mysterious importance would there be scouted. Nations can have no secrets; and the secrets of courts, like those of individuals, are always their defects.

CHAPTER IV.

Of Constitutions.

THAT men mean distinct and separate things when they speak of Constitutions and of Governments, is evident; or why, are those terms distinctly and separately used? A Constitution is not the act of a Government, but of a People constituting a Government; and a Government without a Constitution, is power without right.

All power exercised over a nation, must have some beginning. It must be either delegated or assumed. There are no other sources. All delegated power is trust, and all assumed power is usurpation. Time does not alter the nature and quality of either.

In viewing this subject, the case and circumstance of America present themselves as in the beginning of a world; and our enquiry into the origin of Government is shortened, by referring to the facts that have risen in our own day. We have no occasion to roam for information into the obscure field of antiquity, nor hazard ourselves upon conjecture. We are brought at once to the point of seeing Government begin, as if we had lived in the beginning of time. The real volume, not of history, but of facts, is directly before us, unmutilated by contrivance, or the errors of tradition.

I will here concisely state the commencement of the American Constitutions; by which the difference between Constitutions and Governments will sufficiently appear.

It may not be improper to remind the reader, that the United States of America consist of thirteen separate States, each of which established a Government for itself, after the Declaration of Independence, done the fourth of July, 1776. Each State acted independently of the rest, in forming its Government; but the same general principle pervades the whole. When the several State Governments were formed, they proceeded to form the federal Government, that acts over the whole in all matters which concern the interest of the whole, or which relate to the intercourse of the several

States with each other, or with foreign nations. I will begin with giving an instance from one of the state Governments, (that of Pennsylvania), and then proceed to the federal Government.

The State of Pennsylvania, though nearly of the same extent of territory as England, was then divided into only twelve counties. Each of those counties had elected a committee at the commencement of the dispute with the English Government; and as the City of Philadelphia, which also had its committee, was the most central for intelligence, it became the centre of communication to the several county committees. When it became necessary to proceed to the formation of a Government, the committee of Philadelphia proposed a conference of all the county committees, to be held in that city, and which met the latter end of July 1776.

Though these committees had been elected by the People, they were not elected expressly for the purpose, nor invested with the authority of forming a Constitution; and as they could not, consistently with the American idea of rights, assume such a power, they could only confer upon the matter, and put it into a train of operation. The conferees, therefore, did no more than state the case, and recommend to the several counties to elect six representatives for each county, to meet in a Convention at Philadelphia, with powers to form a Constitution, and propose it for public consideration.

This Convention, of which Benjamin Franklin was president, having met and deliberated, and agreed upon a Constitution, they next ordered it to be published, not as a thing established, but for the consideration of the whole People, their approbation or rejection, and then adjourned to a stated time. When the time of adjournment was expired, the Convention re-assembled; and as the general opinion of the people in approbation of it was then known, the Constitution was signed, sealed, and proclaimed on the *authority of the People*; and the original instrument deposited as a public record. The Convention then appointed a day for the general election of the representatives who were to compose the Government, and the time it should commence; and having done this, they dissolved, and returned to their several homes and occupations.

In this Constitution were laid down, first, a Declaration of Rights. Then followed the form which the Government should have, and the powers it should possess—the autho-

rity of the Courts of Judicature, and Juries—the manner in which elections should be conducted, and the proportion of representatives to the number of electors—the time which each succeeding assembly should continue, which was one year—the mode of levying, and accounting for the expenditure, of public money—of appointing public officers, &c. &c. &c.

No article of this Constitution could be altered or infringed at the discretion of the Government that was to ensue. It was to that Government a law. But as it would have been unwise to preclude the benefit of experience, and in order also to prevent the accumulation of errors, if any should be found, and to preserve an unison of Government with the circumstances of the State at all times, the Constitution provided, that, at the expiration of every seven years, a Convention should be elected, for the express purpose of revising the Constitution, and making alterations, additions, or abolitions therein, if any such should be found necessary.

Here we see a regular process—a Government issuing out of a Constitution, formed by the People in their original character; and that Constitution serving, not only as an authority, but as a law of controul to the Government. It was the political Bible of the State. Scarcely a family was without it. Every member of the Government had a copy; and nothing was more common when any debate arose on the principle of a bill, or on the extent of any species of authority, than for the members to take the printed Constitution out of their pocket, and read the chapter with which such matter in debate was connected.

Having thus given an instance from one of the States, I will shew the proceedings by which the federal Constitution of the United States arose and was formed.

Congress, at its two first meetings, in September 1774, and May 1775, was nothing more than a deputation from the legislatures of the several provinces, afterwards States; and had no other authority than what arose from common consent, and the necessity of its acting as a public body. In every thing which related to the interval affairs of America, Congress went no farther than to issue recommendations to the several provincial assemblies, who at discretion adopted them or not. Nothing on the part of Congress was compulsive; yet, in this situation, it was more faithfully and affectionately obeyed, than was any Government in Europe. This instance, like that of the Na-

tional Assembly of France, sufficiently shews, that the strength of Government does not consist in any thing within itself, but in the attachment of a nation, and the interest which the People feel in supporting it. When this is lost, Government is but a child in power; and though, like the old Government of France, it may harass individuals for a while, it but facilitates its own fall.

After the Declaration of Independence, it became consistent with the principle on which representative Government is founded, that the authority of Congress should be defined and established. Whether that authority should be more or less than Congress then discretionally exercised, was not the question. It was merely the rectitude of the measure.

For this purpose, the act called the Act of Confederation, which was a sort of imperfect federal Constitution), was proposed, and, after long deliberation, was concluded in the year 1781. It was not the act of Congress, because it is repugnant to the principles of representative Government that a body should give power to itself. Congress first informed the several States of the powers which it conceived were necessary to be invested in the Union, to enable it to perform the duties and services required from it; and the States severally agreed with each other, and concentrated in Congress those powers.

It may not be improper to observe, that in both those instances (the one of Pennsylvania, and the other of the United States), there is no such thing as the idea of a compact between the People on one side, and the Government on the other. The compact was that of the People with each other to produce and constitute a Government. To suppose that any Government can be a party in a compact with the whole People, is to suppose it to have existence before it can have a right to exist. The only instance in which a compact can take place between the People and those who exercise the Government, is, that the People shall pay them, while they choose to employ them.

Government is not a trade which any man, or body of men, has a right to set up and exercise for his or their own emolument, but is altogether a trust, in right of those by whom that trust is delegated, and by whom it is always resumeable. It has of itself no rights; they are altogether duties.

Having thus given two instances of the original formation of a Constitution, I will shew the manner in which both have been changed since their first establishment.

The powers vested in the Governments of the several States by the State Constitutions, were found, upon experience, to be too great; and those vested in the federal Government, by the Act of Confederation, too little. The defect was not in the principle, but in the distribution of power.

Numerous publications, in pamphlets and in the newspapers, appeared, on the propriety and necessity of new modelling the federal Government. After some time of public discussion, carried on through the channel of the press, and in conversations, the State of Virginia, experiencing some inconvenience with respect to commerce, proposed holding a Continental conference; in consequence of which, a deputation from five or six of the State Assemblies met at Anapolis, in Maryland, in 1786. This meeting, not conceiving itself sufficiently authorised to go into the business of a reform, did no more than state their general opinion of the propriety of the measure, and recommend that a convention of all the States should be held the year following.

This convention met at Philadelphia in May, 1787, of which General Washington was elected President. He was not at that time connected with any of the State Governments, or with Congress. He delivered up his commission when the war ended, and since then had lived a private citizen.

The convention went deeply into all the subjects; and having, after a variety of debate and investigation, agreed among themselves upon the several parts of a federal Constitution, the next question was, the manner of giving it authority and practice.

For this purpose, they did not, like a cabal of courtiers, send for a Dutch Stadtholder, or a German Elector; but they referred the whole matter to the sense and interest of the country.

They first directed that the proposed Constitution should be published. Secondly, that each State should elect a convention, expressly for the purpose of taking it into consideration, and of ratifying or rejecting it; and that as soon as the approbation and ratification of any nine States should be given, those States should proceed to the election of their proportion of members to the new federal Government; and that the operation of it should then begin, and the former federal Government cease.

The several States proceeded accordingly to elect their conventions. Some of those conventions ratified the Constitution by very large majorities, and two or three unanimously. In others there were much debate and division of opinion. In the Massachusetts convention, which met at Boston, the majority was not above nineteen or twenty, in about three hundred members; but such is the nature of representative Government, that it quietly decides all matters by majority. After the debate in the Massachusetts convention was closed, and the vote taken, the objecting members rose, and declared, "*That though they had argued and voted against it, because certain parts appeared to them in a different light to what they appeared to other members; yet, as the vote had decided in favour of the Constitution as proposed, they should give it the same practical support as if they had voted for it.*"

As soon as nine States had concurred, (and the rest followed in the order their conventions were elected), the old fabric of the federal Government was taken down, and the new one erected, of which General Washington is President. In this place I cannot help remarking, that the character and services of this gentleman are sufficient to put all those men called kings to shame. While they are receiving from the sweat and labours of mankind, a prodigality of pay, to which neither their abilities nor their services can entitle them, he is rendering every service in his power, and refusing every pecuniary reward. He accepted no pay as Commander-in-Chief; he accepts none as President of the United States.

After the new federal Constitution was established, the State of Pennsylvania, conceiving that some parts of its own Constitution required to be altered, elected a convention for that purpose. The proposed alterations were published, and the People concurring therein, they were established.

In forming those Constitutions, or in altering them, little or no inconvenience took place. The ordinary course of things was not interrupted, and the advantages have been much. It is always the interest of a far greater number of People in a nation to have things right, than to let them remain wrong; and when public matters are open to debate, and the public judgment free, it will not decide wrong, unless it decides too hastily.

In the two instances of changing the Constitutions, the

Government then in being were not actors either way. Government has no right to make itself a party in any debates respecting the principles or modes of forming, or of changing Constitutions. It is not for the benefit of those who exercise the power of Government, that Constitutions, and the Governments issuing from them, are established. In all those matters, the right of judging and acting are in those who pay, and not in those who receive.

A Constitution is the property of a nation, and not of those who exercise the Government. All the Constitutions of America are declared to be established on the authority of the People. In France the word nation is used instead of the People; but in both cases, a Constitution is a thing antecedent to the Government, and always distinct therefrom.

In England it is not difficult to perceive that every thing has a Constitution, except the nation. Every society and association that is established first agreed upon a number of original articles, digested into form, which are its Constitution. It then appointed its officers, whose powers and authorities are described in that Constitution, and the Government of that society then commenced. Those officers, by whatever name they are called, have no authority to add to, alter, or abridge the original articles. It is only to the constituting power that this right belongs.

From the want of understanding the difference between a Constitution and a Government, Dr. Johnson, and all the writers of his description, have always bewildered themselves. They could not but perceive, that there must necessarily be a *controlling* power existing somewhere, and they placed this power in the discretion of the persons exercising the Government, instead of placing it in a Constitution formed by the nation. When it is in a Constitution, it has the nation for its support, and the natural and the political controlling powers are together. The laws which are enacted by Governments controul men only as individuals, but the nation, through its Constitution, controuls the whole Government, and has a natural ability so to do. The final controlling power, therefore, and the original constituting power, are one and the same power.

Dr. Johnson could not have advanced such a position in any country where there was a Constitution; and he is himself an evidence, that no such thing as a Constitution exists in England. But it may be put as a question, not improper to be investigated, That if a Constitution does not

exist, how came the idea of its existence so generally established?

In order to decide this question, it is necessary to consider a Constitution in both its cases:—First, as creating a Government and giving it powers. Secondly, as regulating and restraining the powers so given.

If we begin with William of Normandy, we find that the Government of England was originally a tyranny, founded on an invasion and conquest of the country. This being admitted, it will then appear, that the exertion of the nation, at different periods, to abate that tyranny, and render it less intolerable, has been credited for a Constitution.

Magna Charta, as it was called, (it is now like an almanack of the same date,) was no more than compelling the Government to renounce a part of its assumptions. It did not create and give powers to Government in the manner a Constitution does; but was, as far as it went, of the nature of a re-conquest, and not of a Constitution; for could the nation have totally expelled the usurpation, as France has done its despotism, it would then have had a Constitution to form.

The history of the Edwards and Henries, and up to the commencement of the Stuarts, exhibits as many instances of tyranny as could be acted within the limits to which the nation had restricted it. The Stuarts endeavoured to pass those limits, and their fate is well known. In all those instances we see nothing of a Constitution, but only of restrictions on assumed power.

After this, another William, descended from the same stock, and claiming from the same origin, gained possession; and of the two evils, *James* and *William*, the nation preferred what it thought the least; since, from these circumstances, it must take one. The Act, called the Bill of Rights, comes here into view. What is it but a bargain, which the parts of the Government made with each other to divide powers, profits, and privileges? You shall have so much, and I will have the rest; and with respect to the nation, it said, for *your share*, *YOU shall have the Right of Petitioning*. This being the case, the Bill of Rights is more properly a bill of wrongs and of insult. As to what is called the Convention Parliament, it was a thing that made itself, and then made the authority by which it acted. A few persons got together, and called themselves by that name. Several of them had never been elected, and none of them for the purpose.

From the time of William, a species of Government arose, issuing out of this coalition Bill of Rights, and more so, since the corruption introduced at the Hanover succession, by the agency of Walpole, that can be described by no other name than a despotic legislation. Though the parts may embarrass each other, the whole has no bounds; and the only right it acknowledges out of itself is the right of petitioning. Where then is the Constitution either that gives or that restrains power?

It is not because a part of the Government is elective, that makes it less a despotism, if the persons so elected, possess afterwards, as a Parliament, unlimited powers. Election, in this case, becomes separated from representation, and the candidates are candidates for despotism.

I cannot believe that any nation, reasoning on its own rights, would have thought of calling those things a *Constitution*, if the cry of Constitution had not been set up by the Government. It has got into circulation like the words *bore* and *quoz*, by being chalked up in the speeches of Parliament, as those words were on window-shutters and door-posts; but whatever the Constitution may be in other respects, it has undoubtedly been *the most productive machine of taxation that was ever invented*. The taxes in France, under the new Constitution, are not quite thirteen shillings per head*, and the taxes in England, under what is called its present Constitution, are forty-eight shillings and sixpence per head, men, women, and children, amounting to nearly seventeen millions sterling, besides the expence of collection, which is upwards of a million more.

In a country like England, where the whole of the Civil Government is executed by the People of every town and country, by means of parish officers, magistrates, quarterly sessions, juries, and assize, without any trouble to what is

* The whole amount of the Assessed Taxes of France, for the present year, is three hundred millions of livres, which is twelve millions and an half sterling; and the Incidental Taxes are estimated at three millions, making in the whole fifteen millions and an half; which, among twenty-four millions of People, is not quite thirteen shillings per head. France has lessened her taxes since the Revolution, nearly nine millions sterling annually. Before the Revolution, the City of Paris paid a duty of upwards of thirty per cent. on all articles brought into the city. This tax was collected at the city gates. It was taken off on the first of last May, and the gates taken down.

called the Government, or any other expence to the revenue than the salary of the Judges, it is astonishing how such a mass of taxes can be employed. Not even the internal defence of the country is paid out of the revenue. On all occasions, whether real or contrived, recourse is continually had to new loans and to new taxes. No wonder, then, that a machine of Government so advantageous to the advocates of a Court, should be so triumphantly extolled! No wonder, that St. James's or St. Stephen's should echo with the continual cry of Constitution! No wonder, that the French Revolution should be reprobated and the *res-publica* treated with reproach! The *Red Book* of England, like the *Red Book* of France, will explain the reason*.

I will now, by way of relaxation, turn a thought or two to Mr. Burke. I ask his pardon for neglecting him so long.

"America," says he, (in his speech on the Canada Constitution Bill) "never dreamed of such absurd doctrine as the *Rights of Man*."

Mr Burke is such a bold presumer, and advances his assertions and his premises with such a deficiency of judgment, that, without troubling ourselves about principles of philosophy or politics, the mere logical conclusions they produce, are ridiculous. For instance,

If Governments, as Mr. Burke asserts, are not founded on the Rights of MAN, and are founded on *any rights* at all, they consequently must be founded on the rights of *something* that is *not man*. What then is that something?

Generally speaking, we know of no other creatures that inhabit the earth than Man and Beasts; and in all cases, where only two things offer themselves, and one must be admitted, a negation proved on any one, amounts to an affirmative on the other; and therefore, Mr. Burke, by proving against the Rights of *Man*, proves in behalf of the *Beast*; and consequently proves that Government is a *Beast*: and as difficult things sometimes explain each other, we now see the origin of keeping wild beasts in the Tower; for they certainly can be of no other use than to shew the origin of the Government. They are in the place of a Constitution. O John Bull, what honours thou hast lost by not being a wild beast! Thou mightest on Mr. Burke's system, have been in the Tower for life.

* What was called the *Livre Rouge*, or the *Red Book*, in France, was not exactly similar to the *Court Calendar* in England; but it sufficiently shewed how a great part of the taxes was lavished.

If Mr. Burke's arguments have not weight enough to keep one serious, the fault is less mine than his; and as I am willing to make an apology to the reader for the liberty I have taken, I hope Mr. Burke will also make his for giving the cause.

Having thus paid Mr. Burke the compliment of remembering him, I return to the subject.

From the want of a Constitution in England to restrain and regulate the wild impulse of power, many of the laws are irrational and tyrannical, and the administration of them vague and problematical.

The attention of the Government of England, (for I rather choose to call it by this name, than the English Government) appears, since its political connexion with Germany, to have been so completely engrossed and absorbed by foreign affairs, and the means of raising taxes, that it seems to exist for no other purposes. Domestic concerns are neglected; and with respect to regular law, there is scarcely such a thing.

Almost every case now must be determined by some precedent, be that precedent good or bad, or whether it properly applies or not: and the practice is become so general, as to suggest a suspicion, that it proceeds from a deeper policy than at first sight appears.

Since the revolution of America, and more so since that of France, this preaching up the doctrine of precedents, drawn from times and circumstances antecedent to those events, has been the studied practice of the English Government. The generality of those precedents are founded on principles and opinions, the reverse of what they ought to be; and the greater distance of time they are drawn from, the more they are to be suspected. But by associating those precedents with a superstitious reverence for ancient things, as monks shew relics and call them holy, the generality of mankind are deceived into the design. Governments now act as if they were afraid to awaken a single reflection in man. They are softly leading him to the sepulchre of precedents, to deaden his faculties and call his attention from the scene of revolutions. They feel that he is arriving at knowledge faster than they wish, and their policy of precedents is the barometer of their fears. This political popery, like the ecclesiastical popery of old, has had its day, and is hastening to its exit. The ragged relic, and the antiquated precedent; the monk and the monarch, will moulder together.

Government by precedent, without any regard to the principle of the precedent, is one of the vilest systems that can be set up. In numerous instances, the precedent ought to operate as a warning, and not as an example, and requires to be shunned instead of imitated; but instead of this, precedents are taken in the lump, and put at once for Constitution and for Law.

Either the doctrine of precedents is policy to keep a man in a state of ignorance, or it is a practical confession that wisdom degenerates in Governments as Governments increase in age, and can only hobble along by the stilts and crutches of precedents. How is it that the same persons who would proudly be thought wiser than their predecessors, appear at the same time only as the ghosts of departed wisdom? How strangely is antiquity treated! To answer some purposes it is spoken of as the time of darkness and ignorance, and to answer others, it is put for the light of the world.

If the doctrine of precedents is to be followed, the expenses of Government need not continue the same. Why pay men extravagantly, who have but little to do? If every thing that can happen is already in precedent, legislation is at an end, and precedent, like a dictionary, determines every case. Either, therefore, Government has arrived at its dotage, and requires to be renovated, or all the occasions for exercising its wisdom have occurred.

We now see all over Europe, and particularly in England, the curious phenomenon of a nation looking one way, and a Government the other—the one forward and the other backward. If Governments are to go on by precedent, while nations go on by improvement, they must at last come to a final separation: and the sooner, and the more civilly they determine this point, the better.*

* In England the improvements in agriculture, useful arts, manufactures, and commerce, have been made in opposition to the genius of its Government, which is that of following precedents. It is from the enterprize and industry of the individuals, and their numerous associations, in which, strictly speaking, Government is neither pillow nor bolster, that these improvements have proceeded. No man thought about the Government, or who was *in*, or who was *out*, when he was planning or executing these things; and all he had to hope, with respect to Government, was, *that it would let him alone*. Three or four very silly ministerial news-papers are continually offending against the spirit of national improvement: by ascribing it to a minister. They may with as much truth ascribe this book to a minister.

Having thus spoken of Constitutions generally, as things distinct from actual Governments, let us proceed to consider the parts of which a Constitution is composed.

Opinions differ more on this subject, than with respect to the whole. That a nation ought to have a Constitution, as a rule for the conduct of its Government, is a simple question in which all men, not directly courtiers, will agree. It is only on the component parts that questions and opinions multiply.

But this difficulty, like every other, will diminish, when put into a train of being rightly understood.

The first thing is, that a nation has a right to establish a Constitution.

Whether it exercises this right in the most judicious manner at first, is quite another case. It exercises it agreeably to the judgment it possesses; and by continuing to do so, all errors will at last be exploded.

When this right is established in a nation, there is no fear that it will be employed to its own injury. A nation can have no interest in being wrong.

Though all the Constitutions of America are on one general principle, yet no two of them are exactly alike in their component parts, or in the distribution of the powers which they give to the actual Governments. Some are more, and others less complex.

In forming a Constitution, it is first necessary to consider what are the ends for which Government is necessary? Secondly, what are the best means, and the least expensive, for accomplishing those ends?

Government is nothing more than a national association: and the object of this association is the good of all, as well individually as collectively. Every man wishes to pursue his occupation, and to enjoy the fruits of his labours, and the produce of his property in peace and safety, and with the least possible expence. When these things are accomplished, all the objects for which Government ought to be established are answered.

It has been customary to consider Government under three distinct general heads. The legislative, the executive, and the judicial.

But if we permit our judgment to act unincumbered by the habit of multiplied terms, we can perceive no more than two divisions of power, of which Civil Government is composed, namely, that of legislating or enacting laws, and that of executing or administering them. Every thing, therefore

appertaining to Civil Government, classes itself under one or other of these two divisions.

So far as regards the execution of the laws, that which is called the judicial power, is strictly and properly the executive power of every country. It is that power to which every individual has appeal, and which causes the laws to be executed; neither have we any other clear idea with respect to the official execution of the laws. In England, and also in America and France, this power begins with the Magistrate, and proceeds up through all the Courts of Judicature.

I leave to courtiers to explain what is meant by calling monarchy the executive power. It is merely a name in which acts of Government are done; and any other, or none at all, would answer the same purpose. Laws have neither more nor less authority on this account. It must be from the justness of their principles, and the interest which a nation feels therein, that they derive support; if they require any other than this, it is a sign that something in the system of Government is imperfect. Laws difficult to be executed cannot be generally good.

With respect to the organization of the *legislative power*, different modes have been adopted in different countries. In America it is generally composed of two houses. In France it consists but of one, but in both countries it is wholly by representation.

The case is, that mankind (from the long tyranny of assumed power) have had so few opportunities of making the necessary trials on modes and principles of Government, in order to discover the best, *that Government is but now beginning to be known*, and experience is yet wanting to determine many particulars.

The objections against two houses, are first, that there is an inconsistency in any part of a whole legislature, coming to a final determination by vote on any matter, whilst *that matter*, with respect to *that whole*, is yet only in a train of deliberation, and consequently open to new illustrations.

Secondly, That by taking the vote on each, as a separate body, it always admits of the possibility, and is often the case in practice, that the minority governs the majority, and that, in some instances, to a degree of great inconsistency.

Thirdly, That two Houses arbitrarily checking or controuling each other is inconsistent; because it cannot be proved, on the principles of just representation, that either should be wiser or better than the other. They may check

in the wrong as well as in the right,—and therefore, to give the power where we cannot give the wisdom to use it, nor be assured of its being rightly used, renders the hazard at least equal to the precaution.*

The objection against a single House is, that it is always in a condition of committing itself too soon. But it should at the same time be remembered, that when there is a Constitution which defines the power, and establishes the principles within which a legislature shall act, there is already a more effectual check provided, and more powerfully operating, than any other check can be. For example:

Were a Bill to be brought into any of the American legislatures, similar to that which was passed into an act by the English Parliament, at the commencement of George the First, to extend the duration of the assemblies to a longer period than they now sit, the check is in the Constitution, which in effect says, *Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.*

But in order to remove the objection against a single House, (that of acting with too quick an impulse,) and at the same time to avoid the inconsistencies, in some cases absurdities, arising from two Houses, the following method has been proposed as an improvement on both.

First, To have but one representation.

Secondly, To divide that representation, by lot, into two or three parts.

Thirdly, That every proposed Bill, shall be first debated in those parts by succession, that they may become hearers of each other, but without taking any vote. After which

* With respect to the two Houses, of which the English Parliament is composed, they appear to be effectually influenced into one, and, as a legislature, to have no temper of its own. The minister, whoever he at any time may be, touches it as with an opium wand, and it sleeps obedience.

But if we look at the distinct abilities of the two Houses, the difference will appear so great, as to shew the inconsistency of placing power where there can be no certainty of the judgment to use it. Wretched as the state of representation is in England, it is manhood compared with what is called the House of Lords; and so little is this nicknamed House regarded, that the People scarcely enquire at any time what it is doing. It appears also to be most under influence, and the furthest removed from the general interest of the Nation.

the whole representation, to assemble for a general debate and determination by vote.

To this proposed improvement has been added another, for the purpose of keeping the representation in a state of constant renovation; which is, that one-third of the representation of each county, shall go out at the expiration of one year, and the number replaced by new elections. Another third at the expiration of the second year replaced in like manner, and every third year to be a general election.*

But in whatever manner the separate parts of a Constitution may be arranged, there is *one* general principle that distinguishes freedom from slavery, which is, that all *hereditary Government over a People is to them a species of slavery, and Representative Government is freedom.*

Considering Government in the only light in which it should be considered, that of a NATIONAL ASSOCIATION; it ought to be so constructed as not to be disordered by any accident happening among the parts; and, therefore, no extraordinary power, capable of producing such an effect, should be lodged in the hands of any individual. The death, sickness, absence, or defection, of any one individual in a Government, ought to be a matter of no more consequence, with respect to the nation, than if the same circumstance had taken place in a member of the English Parliament, or the French National Assembly.

Scarcely any thing presents a more degrading character of national greatness, than its being thrown into confusion by any thing happening to, or acted by, an individual; and the ridiculousness of the scene is often increased by the natural significance of the person by whom it is occasioned. Were a Government so constructed, that it could not go on unless a goose or gander were present in the Senate, the difficulties would be just as great and as real on the flight or sickness of the goose, or the gander, as if it were called a King. We laugh at individuals for the silly difficulties they make to themselves, without perceiving, that the greatest of all ridiculous things are acted in Governments.†

* As to the state of representation in England, it is too absurd to be reasoned upon. Almost all the represented parts are decreasing in population, and the unrepresented parts are increasing. A general Convention of the Nation is necessary to take the whole state of its Government into consideration.

† It is related that in the Canton of Berne, in Switzerland, it had been customary, from time immemorial, to keep a bear at the pub-

All the Constitutions of America are on a plan that excludes the childish embarrassments which occur in monarchical countries. No suspension of Government can there take place for a moment, from any circumstance whatever. The system of representation provides for every thing, and is the only system in which nations and Governments can always appear in their proper character.

As extraordinary power ought not to be lodged in the hands of any individual, so ought there to be no appropriations of public money to any person, beyond what his service in a state may be worth. It signifies not whether a man be called a President, a King, an Emperor, a Senator, or by any other name, which propriety or folly may devise, or arrogance assume; it is only a certain service he can perform in the State; and the service of any such individual in the routine of office, whether such office be called monarchical, presidential, senatorial, or by any other name or title, can never exceed the value of ten thousand pounds a year. All the great services that are done in the world are performed by volunteer characters, who accept nothing for them; but the routine of office is always regulated to such a general standard of abilities as to be within the compass of numbers in every country to perform, and, therefore, cannot merit very extraordinary recompence. *Government*, says Swift, *is a plain thing, and fitted to the capacity of many heads.*

It is inhuman to talk of a million sterling a year, paid out of the public taxes of any country, for the support of any

lic expence, and the People had been taught to believe, that if they had not a bear they should all be undone. It happened some years ago, that the bear, then in being, was taken sick, and died too suddenly to have his place immediately supplied with another. During this interregnum the People discovered, that the corn grew, and the vintage flourished, and the sun and moon continued to rise and set, and every thing went on the same as before, and, taking courage from these circumstances, they resolved not to keep any more bears; for, said they, "a bear is a very voracious, expensive animal, and we were obliged to pull out his claws, lest he should hurt the citizens."

The story of the bear of Berne was related in some of the French news-papers, at the time of the flight of Louis XVI. and the application of it to monarchy could not be mistaken in France; but it seems, that the aristocracy of Berne applied it to themselves, and have since prohibited the reading of French news-papers.

individual, whilst thousands who are forced to contribute thereto, are pining with want, and struggling with misery. Government does not consist in a contrast between prisons and palaces, between poverty and pomp; it is not instituted to rob the needy of his mite, and increase the wretchedness of the wretched. But of this part of the subject I shall speak hereafter, and confine myself at present to political observations.

When extraordinary power and extraordinary pay are allotted to any individual in a Government, he becomes the centre, round which every kind of corruption generates and forms. Give to any man a million a year, and add thereto the power of creating and disposing of places, at the expence of a country, and the liberties of that country are no longer secure. What is called the splendour of a throne is no other than the corruption of the state. It is made up of a band of parasites, living in luxurious indolence out of the public taxes.

When once such a vicious system is established it becomes the guard and protection of all inferior abuses. The man who is in the receipt of a million a year is the last person to promote a spirit of reform, lest, in the event, it should reach to himself. It is always his interest to defend inferior abuses, as so many out-works to protect the citadel; and in this species of political fortification, all the parts have such a common dependence that it is never to be expected they will attack each other.*

* It is scarcely possible to touch on any subject that will not suggest an allusion to some corruption in Governments. The simile of "*fortifications*," unfortunately involves with it a circumstance, which is directly in point with the matter above alluded to.

Among the numerous instances of abuse which have been acted or protected by Governments, ancient or modern, there is not a greater than that of quartering a man and his heirs upon the public, to be maintained at its expence.

Humanity dictates a provision for the poor; but by what right, moral or political, does any Government assume to say, that the person called the Duke of Richmond, shall be maintained by the public? Yet, if common report is true, not a beggar in London can purchase his wretched pittance of coal, without paying towards the Civil List of the Duke of Richmond. Were the whole produce of this imposition but a shilling a year, the iniquitous principle would be still the same; but when it amounts, as it is said to do,

Monarchy would not have continued so many ages in the world had it not been for the abuses it protects. It is the master-fraud which shelters all others. By admitting a participation of the spoil, it makes itself friends; and when it ceases to do this, it will cease to be the idol of courtiers.

As the principle on which Constitutions are now formed, rejects all hereditary pretensions to Government, it also rejects all that catalogue of assumptions known by the name of prerogatives.

If there is any Government where prerogatives might with apparent safety be entrusted to any individual, it is in the federal Government of America. The President of the United States of America is elected only for four years. He is not only responsible in the general sense of the word, but a particular mode is laid down in the Constitution for trying him. He cannot be elected under thirty-five years of age; and he must be a native of the country.

In a comparison of these cases with the Government of England, the difference when applied to the latter amounts to an absurdity. In England the person who exercises prerogative is often a foreigner; always half a foreigner, and always married to a foreigner. He is never in full natural or political connection with the country, is not responsible for any thing, and becomes of age at eighteen years; yet such a person is permitted to form foreign alliances without even the knowledge of the nation, and to make war and peace without its consent.

But this is not all. Though such a person cannot dispose of the Government, in the manner of a testator, he dictates the marriage connections, which, in effect, accomplishes a very great part of the same end. He cannot directly bequeath half the Government to Prussia, but he can form a marriage partnership that will always produce the same thing. Under such circumstances, it is happy for

to no less than twenty thousand pounds *per annum*, the enormity is too serious to be permitted to remain. This is one of the effects of monarchy and aristocracy.

In stating this case, I am led by no personal dislike. Though I think it mean in any man to live upon the public, the vice originates in the Government; and so general is it become, that whether the parties are in the ministry or in the opposition, it makes no difference: they are sure of the guarantee of each other.

England that she is not situated on the Continent, or she might, like Holland, fall under the dictatorship of Prussia. Holland, by marriage, is as effectually governed by Prussia, as if the old tyranny of bequeathing the Government had been the means.

The Presidency in America, (or, as it is sometimes called, the Executive,) is the only office from which a foreigner is excluded, and in England it is the only one to which he is admitted. A foreigner cannot be a member of Parliament, but he may be what is called a king. If there is any reason for excluding foreigners, it ought to be from those offices where mischief can be most acted, and where, by uniting every bias of interest and attachment, the trust is best secured.

But as nations proceed in the great business of forming Constitutions, they will examine with more precision into the nature and business of that department which is called the executive. What the legislative and judicial departments are, every one can see; but with respect to what, in Europe, is called the executive, as distinct from those two, it is either a political superfluity, or a chaos of unknown things.

Some kind of official department to which reports shall be made from the different parts of the nation, or from abroad, to be laid before the national representatives, is all that is necessary; but there is no consistency in calling this executive; neither can it be considered in any other light than as inferior to the legislative. The sovereign authority in any country is the power of making laws, and every thing else is an official department.

Next to the arrangement of the principles and the organization of the several parts of a Constitution, is the provision to be made for the support of the persons to whom the nation shall confide the administration of the constitutional powers.

A nation can have no right to the time and services of any person at his own expence, whom it may choose to employ or entrust in any department whatever; neither can any reason be given for making provision for the support of any one part of a Government and not for the other.

But, admitting that the honour of being entrusted with any part of a Government is to be considered a sufficient reward, it ought to be so to every person alike. If the members of the legislature of any country are to serve at their own expence, that which is called the executive,

whether monarchical, or by any other name, ought to serve in like manner. It is inconsistent to pay the one, and accept the service of the other gratis.

In America, every department in the Government is decently provided for; but no one is extravagantly paid. Every member of Congress, and of the Assemblies, is allowed a sufficiency for his expences. Whereas in England, a most prodigal provision is made for the support of one part of the Government, and none for the other, the consequence of which is, that the one is furnished with the means of corruption, and the other is put into the condition of being corrupted. Less than a fourth part of such expence, applied as it is in America, would remedy a great part of the corruption.

Another reform in the American Constitution, is the exploding all oaths of personality. The oath of allegiance in America is to the nation only. The putting any individual as a figure for a nation is improper. The happiness of a nation is the superior object, and therefore, the intention of an oath of allegiance ought not to be obscured by being figuratively taken, to, or in the name of, any person. The oath, called the civic oath, in France, viz. "*the Nation, the Law, and the King,*" is improper. If taken at all, it ought to be as in America, to the nation only. The law may or may not be good; but in this place it can have no other meaning, than as being conducive to the happiness of the nation, and therefore is included in it. The remainder of the oath is improper, on the ground, that all personal oaths ought to be abolished. They are the remains of tyranny on one part, and slavery on the other; and the name of the CREATOR ought not to be introduced to witness the degradation of his creation; or if taken, as is already mentioned, as figurative of the nation, it is in this place redundant. But whatever apology may be made for oaths at the first establishment of a Government, they ought not to be permitted afterwards. If a Government requires the support of oaths, it is a sign that it is not worth supporting, and ought not to be supported. Make Government what it ought to be, and it will support itself.

To conclude this part of the subject:—One of the greatest improvements that have been made for the perpetual security and progress of constitutional liberty, is the provision which the new Constitutions make for occasionally revising, altering, and amending them.

The principle upon which Mr. Burke formed his political

creed, that “*of binding and controuling posterity to the end of time, and of renouncing and abdicating the rights of all posterity for ever,*” is now become too detestable to make a subject of debate; and therefore, I pass it over with no other notice than exposing it.

Government is but now beginning to be known. Hitherto it has been the mere exercise of power, which forbade all effectual enquiry into rights, and grounded itself wholly on possession. While the enemy of liberty was its judge, the progress of its principles must have been small indeed.

The Constitutions of America, and also that of France, have either affixed a period for their revision, or laid down the mode by which improvements shall be made. It is, perhaps, impossible to establish any thing that combines principles with opinions and practice, which the progress of circumstances through a length of years, will not in some measure derange, or render inconsistent; and therefore, to prevent inconveniences accumulating, till they discourage reformatations or provoke revolutions, it is best to provide the means of regulating them as they occur. The Rights of Man are the rights of all generations of men, and cannot be monopolized by any. That which is worth following, is followed for the sake of its worth; and it is in that its security lies, and not in any conditions with which it may be encumbered. When a man leaves property to his heirs, he does not connect it with an obligation that they shall accept it. Why then should we do otherwise with respect to Constitutions?

The best Constitution that could now be devised, consistent with the condition of the present moment, may be far short of that excellence which a few years may afford. There is a morning of reason rising upon man on the subject of Government, that has not appeared before. As the barbarism of the present old Governments expires, the moral condition of nations with respect to each other will be changed. Man will not be brought up with the savage idea of considering his species as his enemy, because the accident of birth gave the individuals existence in countries distinguished by different names: and as Constitutions have always some relation to external as well as to domestic circumstances, the means of benefiting by every change, foreign or domestic, should be a part of every Constitution.

We already see an alteration in the national disposition of England and France towards each other, which, when we look back to only a few years, is itself a revolution. Who

could have foreseen, or who would have believed, that a French National Assembly would ever have been a popular toast in England, or that a friendly alliance of the two nations should become the wish of either? It shews, that man, were he not corrupted by Governments, is naturally the friend of man, and that human nature is not of itself vicious. The spirit of jealousy and ferocity, which the Governments of the two countries inspired, and which they rendered subservient to the purpose of taxation, is now yielding to the dictates of reason, interest, and humanity. The trade of courts is beginning to be understood, and the affectation of mystery, with all the artificial sorcery by which they imposed upon mankind, is on the decline. It has received its death-wound; and though it may linger, it will expire.

Government ought to be as much open to improvement as any thing which appertains to man, instead of which it has been monopolized from age to age, by the most ignorant and vicious of the human race. Need we any other proof of their wretched management, than the excess of debts and taxes with which every nation groans, and the quarrels into which they have precipitated the world?

Just emerging from such a barbarous condition, it is too soon to determine to what extent of improvement Government may yet be carried. For what we can foresee, all Europe may form but one great republic, and man be free of the whole.

CHAPTER V.

WAYS and MEANS of improving the condition of Europe, interspersed with Miscellaneous Observations.

IN contemplating a subject that embraces with equatorial magnitude the whole region of humanity, it is impossible to confine the pursuit in one single direction. It takes ground on every character and condition that appertains to man, and blends the individual, the nation, and the world.

From a small spark, kindled in America, a flame has arisen, not to be extinguished. Without consuming, like the *Ultima Ratio Regum*, it winds in progress from nation to nation, and conquers by a silent operation. Man finds himself changed, he scarcely perceives how. He acquires a knowledge of his rights by attending justly to his interest, and discovers in the event, that the strength and powers of despotism consist wholly in the fear of resisting it, and that, in order “*to be free, it is sufficient that he wills it.*”

Having in all the preceding parts of this work endeavoured to establish a system of principles as a basis, on which Governments ought to be erected; I shall proceed in this, to the ways and means of rendering them into practice. But in order to introduce this part of the subject with more propriety, and stronger effect, some preliminary observations deducible from, or connected with, those principles are necessary.

Whatever the form or Constitution of Government may be, it ought to have no other object than the *general* happiness. When, instead of this, it operates to create and increase wretchedness in any of the parts of society, it is a wrong system, and reformation is necessary.

Customary language has classed the condition of man under the two descriptions of a civilized and uncivilized life. To the one it has ascribed felicity and affluence; to the other, hardship and want. But however our imagination may be impressed by painting and comparison, it is never-

theless true, that a great portion of mankind, in what are called civilized countries, are in a state of poverty and wretchedness, far below the condition of an Indian. I speak not of one country, but of all. It is so in England, it is so all over Europe. Let us enquire into the cause.

It lies not in any natural defect in the principles of civilization, but in preventing those principles having an universal operation; the consequence of which is, a perpetual system of war and expence, that drains the country, and defeats the general felicity of which civilization is capable.

All the European Governments (France now excepted) are constructed not on the principle of universal civilization, but on the reverse of it. So far as those Governments relate to each other, they are in the same condition as we conceive of savage, uncivilized life; they put themselves beyond the law as well of GOD as of man, and are, with respect to principle, and reciprocal conduct, like so many individuals in a state of nature.

The inhabitants of every country, under the civilization of laws, easily civilize together, but Governments being yet in an uncivilized state, and almost continually at war, they pervert the abundance which civilized life produces to carry on the uncivilized part to a greater extent. By thus engrafting the barbarism of Government upon the internal civilization of a country, it draws from the latter, and more especially from the poor, a great portion of those earnings which should be applied to their own existence and comfort.—Apart from all reflections of morality and philosophy, it is a melancholy fact, that more than one-fourth of the labour of mankind is annually consumed by this barbarous system.

What has served to continue this evil, is the pecuniary advantage, which all the Governments of Europe have found in keeping up this state of uncivilization. It affords to them pretences for power and revenue, for which there would be neither occasion nor apology, if the circle of civilization were rendered complete. Civil Government alone, or the Government of laws, is not productive of pretences for many taxes; it operates at home, directly under the eye of the country, and precludes the possibility of much imposition. But when the scene is laid in the uncivilized contention of Governments, the field of pretences is enlarged, and the country, being no longer a judge, is open to every imposition which Governments please to act.

Not a thirtieth, scarcely a fortieth, part of the taxes which

are raised in England are either occasioned by, or applied to, the purposes of civil Government. It is not difficult to see, that the whole which the actual Government does in this respect, is to enact laws, and that the country administers and executes them, at its own expence, by means of magistrates, juries, sessions, and assize, over and above the taxes which it pays.

In this view of the case, we have two distinct characters of Government; the one the civil Government of laws, which operates at home, the other the court or cabinet Government, which operates abroad, on the rude plan of uncivilized life; the one attended with little charge, the other with boundless extravagance; and so distinct are the two, that if the latter were to sink, as it were, by a sudden opening of the earth, and totally disappear, the other would not be deranged. It would still proceed, because it is the common interest of the nation that it should, and all the means are in the practice.

Revolutions, then, have for their object, a change in the moral condition of Governments, and with this change the burthen of public taxes will lessen, and civilization will be left to the enjoyment of that abundance, of which it is now deprived.

In contemplating the whole of this subject, I extend my views into the department of commerce. In all my publications, where the matter would admit, I have been an advocate for commerce, because I am a friend to its effects. It is a pacific system, operating to cordialize mankind, by rendering nations, as well as individuals, useful to each other. As to mere theoretical reformation, I have never preached it up. The most effectual process is that of improving the condition of man by means of his interest; and it is on this ground I take my stand.

If commerce were permitted to act to the universal extent it is capable, it would extirpate the system of war, and produce a revolution in the uncivilized state of Governments. The invention of commerce has arisen since those Governments began, and is the greatest approach towards universal civilization, that has yet been made by any means not immediately flowing from moral principles.

Whatever has a tendency to promote the civil intercourse of nations, by an exchange of benefits, is a subject as worthy of philosophy as politics. Commerce is no other than the traffic of two individuals, multiplied on a scale of numbers; and by the same rule that nature intended the

intercourse of two, she intended that of all. For this purpose she has distributed the materials of manufactures and commerce, in various and distant parts of a nation and of the world; and as they cannot be procured by war so cheaply or so commodiously as by commerce, she has rendered the latter the means of extirpating the former.

As the two are nearly the opposites of each other, consequently, the uncivilized state of European Governments is injurious to commerce. Every kind of destruction or embarrassment serves to lessen the quantity, and it matters but little in what part of the commercial world the reduction begins. Like blood, it cannot be taken from any of the parts, without being taken from the whole mass in circulation, and all partake of the loss. When the ability in any nation to buy is destroyed, it equally involves the seller. Could the Government of England destroy the commerce of all other nations, she would most effectually ruin her own.

It is possible that a nation may be the carrier for the world, but she cannot be the merchant. She cannot be the seller and the buyer of her own merchandize. The ability to buy must reside out of herself; and, therefore, the prosperity of any commercial nation is regulated by the prosperity of the rest. If they are poor, she cannot be rich, and her condition, be it what it may, is an index of the height of the commercial tide in other nations.

That the principles of commerce, and its universal operation may be understood, without understanding the practice, is a position that reason will not deny; and it is on this ground only that I argue the subject. It is one thing in the counting-house, in the world it is another. With respect to its operation it must necessarily be contemplated as a reciprocal thing; that only one half its powers resides within the nation, and that the whole is effectually destroyed by destroying the half that resides without, as if the destruction had been committed on that which is within; for neither can act without the other.

When in the last, as well as in former wars, the commerce of England sunk, it was because the general quantity was lessened every where; and it now rises, because commerce is in a rising state in every nation. If England, at this day, imports and exports more than at any former period, the nations with which she trades must necessarily do the same; her imports are their exports, and *vice versa*.

There can be no such thing as a nation flourishing alone

in commerce ; she can only participate ; and the destruction of it in any part must necessarily affect all. When, therefore, Governments are at war, the attack is made upon the common stock of commerce, and the consequence is the same as if each had attacked his own.

The present increase of commerce is not to be attributed to ministers, or to any political contrivances, but to its own natural operations in consequence of peace. The regular markets had been destroyed, the channels of trade broken up, the high road of the seas infested with robbers of every nation, and the attention of the world called to other objects. Those interruptions have ceased, and peace has restored the deranged condition of things to their proper order.*

It is worth remarking, that every nation reckons the balance of trade in its own favour ; and therefore something must be irregular in the common ideas upon this subject.

The fact, however, is true, according to what is called a balance ; and it is from this cause that commerce is universally supported. Every nation feels the advantage, or it would abandon the practice : but the deception lies in the mode of making up the accounts, and in attributing what are called profits to a wrong cause.

Mr. Pitt has sometimes amused himself by shewing what he called a balance of trade from the Custom-House books. This mode of calculation not only affords no rule that is true, but one that is false.

In the first place, every cargo that departs from the Custom-House, appears on the books as an export ; and according to the Custom-House balance, the losses at sea, and by foreign failures, are all reckoned on the side of profit, because they appear as exports.

Secondly, Because the importation by the smuggling trade does not appear on the Custom-House books, to arrange against the exports.

* In America, the increase of commerce is greater in proportion than in England. It is, at this time, at least one half more than at any period prior to the Revolution. The greatest number of vessels cleared out of the port of Philadelphia, before the commencement of the war, was between eight and nine hundred. In the year 1788, the number was upwards of twelve hundred. As the State of Pennsylvania is estimated as an eighth part of the United States in population, the whole number of vessels must now be nearly ten thousand.

No balance, therefore, as applying to superior advantages, can be drawn from these documents; and if we examine the natural operation of commerce, the idea is fallacious; and if true, would soon be injurious. The great support of commerce consists in the balance being a level of benefits among all nations.

Two merchants of different nations trading together, will both become rich, and each makes the balance in his own favour; consequently, they do not get rich out of each other; and it is the same with respect to the nations in which they reside. The case must be, that each nation must get rich out of its own means, and increases those riches by something which it procures from another in exchange.

If a merchant in England sends an article of English manufacture abroad, which costs him a shilling at home, and imports something which sells for two, he makes a balance of one shilling in his own favour; but this is not gained out of the foreign nation or the foreign merchant, for he also does the same by the article he receives, and neither has a balance of advantage upon the other. The original value of the two articles in their proper countries were but two shillings; but by changing their places, they acquire a new idea of value, equal to double what they had at first, and that increased value is equally divided.

There is no otherwise a balance on foreign than on domestic commerce. The merchants of London and Newcastle trade on the same principles, as if they resided in different nations, and make their balances in the same manner: yet London does not get rich out of Newcastle, any more than Newcastle out of London; but coals, the merchandize of Newcastle, have an additional value at London, and London merchandize has the same at Newcastle.

Though the principle of all commerce is the same, the domestic, in a national view, is the part the most beneficial; because the whole of the advantages, on both sides, rests within the nation; whereas, in foreign commerce, it is only a participation of one half.

The most unprofitable of all commerce is that connected with foreign dominion. To a few individuals it may be beneficial, merely because it is commerce; but to the nation it is a loss. The expence of maintaining dominion more than absorbs the profits of any trade. It does not increase the general quantity in the world, but operates to lessen it; and a greater mass would be afloat by relinquish-

ing dominion, the participation without the expence would be more valuable than a greater quantity with it.

But it is impossible to engross commerce by dominion; and therefore it is still more fallacious. It cannot exist in confined channels, and necessarily breaks out by regular or irregular means, that defeat the attempt; and to succeed would be still worse. France, since the Revolution, has been more than indifferent as to foreign possessions; and other nations will become the same, when they investigate the subject with respect to commerce.

To the expence of dominion is to be added that of navies, and when the amount of the two are subtracted from the profits of commerce, it will appear, that what is called the balance of trade, even admitting it to exist, is not enjoyed by the nation, but absorbed by the Government.

The idea of having navies for the protection of commerce is delusive. It is putting the means of destruction for the means of protection. Commerce needs no other protection than the reciprocal interest which every nation feels in supporting it—it is common stock—it exists by a balance of advantages to all; and the only interruption it meets, is from the present uncivilized state of Governments, and which it is its common interest to reform.*

Quitting this subject, I now proceed to other matters.—As it is necessary to include England in the prospect of a general reformation, it is proper to enquire into the defects of its Government. It is only by each nation reforming its own, that the whole can be improved, and the full benefit of reformation enjoyed. Only partial advantages can flow from partial reforms.

France and England are the only two countries in Europe where a reformation in Government could have successfully begun. The one secure by the ocean, and the other by the immensity of its internal strength, could defy the malignity of foreign despotism. But it is with revolutions as with commerce, the advantages increase by their becoming general, and double to either what each would receive alone.

* When I saw Mr. Pitt's mode of estimating the balance of trade, in one of his Parliamentary speeches, he appeared to me to know nothing of the nature and interest of commerce; and no man has more wantonly tortured it than himself. During a period of peace, it has been havocked with the calamities of war. Three times has it been thrown into stagnation, and the vessels unmanned by impressing, within less than four years of peace.

As a new system is now opening to the view of the world, the European courts are plotting to counteract it. Alliances, contrary to all former systems, are agitating, and a common interest of courts is forming against the common interest of man. This combination draws a line that runs throughout Europe, and presents a cause entirely new, as to exclude all calculations from former circumstances. While despotism warred with despotism, man had no interest in the contest; but in a cause that unites the soldier with the citizen, and nation with nation, the despotism of courts, though it feels the danger, and meditates revenge, is afraid to strike.

No question has arisen within the records of history that pressed with the importance of the present. It is not whether this or that party shall be in or not, or Whig or Tory, or high or low, shall prevail; but whether man shall inherit his rights, and universal civilization take place? Whether the fruits of his labours shall be enjoyed by himself, or consumed by the profligacy of Governments? Whether robbery shall be banished from courts, and wretchedness from countries?

When, in countries that are called civilized, we see age going to the workhouse, and youth to the gallows, something must be wrong in the system of Government. It would seem, by the exterior appearance of such countries, that all was happiness; but there lies hidden from the eye of common observation a mass of wretchedness that has scarcely any other chance than to expire in poverty or infamy. Its entrance into life is marked with the presage of its fate; and until this is remedied, it is in vain to punish.

Civil Government does not consist in executions; but in making that provision for the instruction of youth, and the support of age, as to exclude, as much as possible, profligacy from the one, and despair from the other. Instead of this, the resources of a country are lavished upon kings, upon courts, upon hirelings, impostors, and prostitutes; and even the poor themselves, with all their wants upon them, are compelled to support the fraud that oppresses them.✓

Why is it, that scarcely any are executed but the poor? The fact is a proof, among other things, of a wretchedness in their condition. Bred up without morals, and cast upon the world without a prospect, they are the exposed sacrifice of vice and legal barbarity. The millions that are superfluously wasted upon Governments are more than sufficient

to reform those evils, and to benefit the condition of every man in a nation, not included within the purlieus of a court. This I hope to make appear in the progress of this work.

It is the nature of compassion to associate with misfortune. In taking up this subject I seek no recompence—I fear no consequence. Fortified with that proud integrity, that disdains to triumph or to yield, I will advocate the Rights of Man.

It is to my advantage that I have served an apprenticeship to life. I know the value of moral instruction, and I have seen the danger of the contrary.

At an early period, little more than sixteen years of age, raw and adventurous, and heated with the false heroism of a master,* who had served in a man of war, I began the career of my own fortune, and entered on board the Terrible privateer, Captain Death. From this adventure I was happily prevented by the affectionate and moral remonstrance of a good father, who, from his own habits of life, being of the Quaker profession, must begin to look upon me as lost. But the impression, much as it affected at the time, began to wear away, and I entered afterwards in the King of Prussia privateer, Captain Mendez, and went with her to sea. Yet, from such a beginning, and with all the inconvenience of early life against me, I am proud to say, that with a perseverance undismayed by difficulties, a disinterestedness that compelled respect, I have not only contributed to raise a new empire in the world, founded on a new system of Government, but I have arrived at an eminence in political literature, the most difficult of all lines to succeed and excel in, which aristocracy, with all its aids, has not been able to reach or to rival.

Knowing my own heart, and feeling myself, as I now do, superior to all the skirmish of party, the inveteracy of interested or mistaken opponents, I answer not to falsehood or abuse, but proceed to the defects of the English Government.†

* Rev. William Knowles, master of the grammar school of Thetford, in Norfolk.

† Politics and self-interest have been so uniformly connected, that the world, from being so often deceived, has a right to be suspicious of public characters: but with regard to myself, I am perfectly easy on this head. I did not, at my first setting out in

I begin with charters and corporations.

It is a perversion of terms to say, that a charter gives rights. It operates by a contrary effect, that of taking

public life, nearly seventeen years ago, turn my thoughts to subjects of Government from motives of interest; and my conduct from that moment to this, proves the fact. I saw an opportunity, in which I thought I could do some good, and I followed exactly what my heart dictated. I neither read books, nor studied other people's opinions. I thought for myself. The case was this:—

During the suspension of the old Governments in America, both prior to, and at the breaking out of hostilities, I was struck with the order and decorum with which every thing was conducted; and impressed with the idea, that a little more than what society naturally performed was all the Government that was necessary; and that monarchy and aristocracy were frauds and impositions upon mankind. On these principles I published the pamphlet *Common Sense*. The success it met with was beyond any thing since the invention of printing. I gave the copy-right to every State in the Union, and the demand ran to not less than one hundred thousand copies. I continued the subject in the same manner, under the title of the *Crisis*, till the complete establishment of the Revolution.

After the Declaration of Independence, Congress unanimously, and unknown to me, appointed me Secretary to the Foreign Department. This was agreeable to me, because it gave me the opportunity of seeing into the abilities of foreign courts, and their manner of doing business. But a misunderstanding arising between Congress and me, respecting one of their commissioners then in Europe, Mr. Silas Deane, I resigned the office, and declined, at the same time, the pecuniary offers, made by the ministers of France and Spain, M. Gerard and Don Juan Mirralles.

I had by this time so completely gained the ear and confidence of America, and my own independence was become so visible as to give me a range in political writing beyond, perhaps, what any man ever possessed in any country; and what is more extraordinary, I held it undiminished to the end of the war, and enjoy it in the same manner to the present moment. As my object was not myself, I set out with the determination, and happily with the disposition, of not being moved by praise or censure, friendship or calumny, nor of being drawn from my purpose by any personal altercation; and the man who cannot do this, is not fit for a public character.

When the war ended, I went from Philadelphia to Borden Town, on the east bank of the Delaware, where I have a small place. Congress was at this time at Prince Town, fifteen miles distant; and General Washington had taken his head-quarters at Rocky Hill, within the neighbourhood of Congress, for the purpose of

rights away. Rights are inherently in all the inhabitants; but charters, by annulling those rights in the majority, leave the right by exclusion in the hands of a few. If

resigning up his commission, (the object for which he accepted it being accomplished,) and of retiring to private life. While he was on this business, he wrote me the letter which I here subjoin.

Rocky Hill, Sept. 10, 1783.

I have learned since I have been at this place, that you are at Borden Town. Whether for the sake of retirement or economy, I know not. Be it for either, for both, or whatever it may, if you will come to this place, and partake with me, I shall be exceedingly happy to see you at it.

Your presence may remind Congress of your past services to this country; and if it is in my power to impress them, command my best exertions with freedom, as they will be rendered cheerfully by one who entertains a lively sense of the importance of your works, and who, with much pleasure, subscribes himself,

Your sincere friend,

G. WASHINGTON.

During the war, in the latter end of the year 1780, I formed to myself a design of coming over to England; and communicated it to General Greene, who was then in Philadelphia, on his route to the southward, General Washington being then at too great a distance to communicate with immediately. I was strongly impressed with the idea, that if I could get over to England, without being known, and only remain in safety till I could get out a publication, that I could open the eyes of the country with respect to the madness and stupidity of its Government. I saw that the parties in Parliament had pitted themselves as far as they could go, and could make no new impressions on each other. General Greene entered fully into my views; but the affair of Arnold and Andre happening just after, he changed his mind, and under strong apprehensions for my safety, wrote very pressingly to me from Annapolis, in Maryland, to give up the design, which, with some reluctance, I did. Soon after this I accompanied Colonel Lawrens, son of Mr. Lawrens, who was then in the Tower, to France, on business from Congress. We landed at L'Orient; and while I remained there, he being gone forward, a circumstance occurred, that renewed my former design. An English packet from Falmouth to New York, with the Government dispatches on board, was brought into L'Orient. That a packet should be taken, is no extraordinary thing; but that the dispatches should be taken with it, will scarcely be credited, as they are always slung at the cabin window, in a bag loaded with cannon-ball, and ready to be sunk at a moment. The fact, however, is as I have stated it, for the

charters were constructed so as to express in direct terms, "*that every inhabitant, who is not a member of a Corporation, shall not exercise the right of voting,*" such charters would, in the face, be charters, not of rights, but of exclusion. The effect is the same under the form they now stand; and the only persons on whom they operate, are the persons whom they exclude. Those whose rights are guaranteed, by not being taken away, exercise no other rights, than as members of the community they are entitled to without a charter; and, therefore, all charters have no other than an indirect negative operation. They do not give rights to A, but they make a difference in favour of A by taking away the right of B, and consequently are instruments of injustice.

But charters and corporations have a more extensive evil effect, than what relates merely to elections. They are sources of endless contentions in the places where they exist; and they lessen the common rights of national society. A native of England, under the operation of these charters and corporations, cannot be said to be an Englishman in the full sense of the word. He is not free of the nation, in the same manner that a Frenchman is free of France, and an American of America. His rights are circumscribed to the town, and in some cases, to the parish of his birth; and all other parts, though in his native land,

dispatches came into my hands, and I read them. The capture, as I was informed, succeeded by the following stratagem:—The Captain of the Madame privateer, who spoke English, on coming up with the packet, passed himself for the captain of an English frigate, and invited the captain of the packet on board; which, when done, he sent some of his own hands back, and secured the mail. But, be the circumstance of the capture what it may, I speak with certainty as to the Government dispatches. They were sent up to Paris, to Count Vergennes, and when Colonel Lawrens and myself returned to America, we took the originals to Congress.

By these dispatches I saw into the stupidity of the English Cabinet, far more than I otherwise could have done, and I renewed my former design. But Col. Lawrens was so unwilling to return alone; more especially, as among other matters, he had a charge of upwards of two hundred thousand pounds sterling in money, that I gave up to his wishes, and finally gave up my plan. But I am now certain, that if I could have executed it, it would not have been altogether unsuccessful.

are to him as a foreign country. To acquire a residence in these, he must undergo a local naturalization by purchase, or he is forbidden or expelled the place. This species of feudality is kept up to aggrandize the corporations at the ruin of towns; and the effect is visible.

The generality of corporation towns are in a state of solitary decay, and prevented from further ruin, only by some circumstance in their situation, such as a navigable river, or a plentiful surrounding country. As population is one of the chief sources of wealth, (for without it land itself has no value,) every thing which operates to prevent it must lessen the value of property; and as corporations have not only this tendency, but directly this effect, they cannot but be injurious. If any policy were to be followed, instead of that of general freedom to every person to settle where he chose, (as in France or America,) it would be more consistent to give encouragement to new comers, than to preclude their admission by exacting premiums from them*.

The persons most immediately interested in the abolition of corporations, are the inhabitants of the towns where corporations, are established. The instances of Manchester, Birmingham, and Sheffield, shew, by contrast, the injury which those Gothic Institutions are to property and commerce. A few examples may be found, such as that of London, whose natural and commercial advantage, owing to its situation on the Thames, is capable of bearing up against the political evils of a corporation; but in almost all other cases the fatality is too visible to be doubted or denied.

* It is difficult to account for the origin of charter and corporation towns, unless we suppose them to have arisen out of, or been connected with, some species of garrison service. The time in which they began justify this idea. The generality of those towns have been garrisons; and the corporations were charged with the care of the gates of the towns, when no military garrison was present. Their refusing or granting admission to strangers, which has produced the customs of giving, selling and buying freedom, has more of the nature of garrison authority than civil government. Soldiers are free of all corporations throughout the nation, by the same propriety that every soldier is free of every garrison, and no other persons are. He can follow any employment, with the permission of his officers, in any corporation town throughout the nation.

Though the whole nation is not so directly affected by the depression of property in corporation towns as the inhabitants themselves, it partakes of the consequence. By lessening the value of property, the quantity of national commerce is curtailed. Every man is a customer in proportion to his ability; and as all parts of a nation trade with each other, whatever affects any of the parts, must necessarily communicate to the whole.

As one of the Houses of the English Parliament is, in a great measure, made up of elections from these corporations; and as it is unnatural that a pure stream should flow from a foul fountain, its vices are but a continuation of the vices of its origin. A man of moral honour and good political principles, cannot submit to the mean drudgery and disgraceful arts, by which such elections are carried. To be a successful candidate, he must be destitute of the qualities that constitute a just legislator, and being thus disciplined to corruption by the mode of entering into Parliament, it is not to be expected that the representative should be better than the man.

Mr. Burke, in speaking of the English representation, has advanced as bold a challenge as ever was given in the days of Chivalry. "Our representation," says he, "has been found *perfectly adequate to all the purposes* for which a representation of the People can be desired or devised. I defy," continues he, "the enemies of our constitution to shew the contrary."

This declaration from a man who has been in constant opposition of all the measures in Parliament the whole of his political life, a year or two excepted, is most extraordinary; and, comparing him with himself, admits of no other alternative, than that he acted against his judgment as a member, or has declared contrary to it as an author.

But it is not in the representation only that defects lie, and therefore I proceed in the next place to the aristocracy.

What is called the House of Peers, is constituted on a ground very similar to that, against which there is a law in other cases. It amounts to a combination of persons in one common interest. No reason can be given, why an House of Legislation should be composed entirely of men whose occupation consists in letting landed property, than why it should be composed of those who hire, or of brewers, or bakers, or any other separate class of men.

Mr. Burke calls this House, "*the great ground and pillar of security to the landed interest.*" Let us examine this idea.

What pillar of security does the landed interest require more than any other interest in the State, or what right has it to a distinct and separate representation from the general interest of a nation? The only use to be made of this power, (and which it has always made), is to ward off taxes from itself, and throw the burthen upon such articles of consumption by which itself would be least affected.

That this has been the consequence, (and will always be the consequence of constructing Governments on combinations,) is evident with respect to England, from the history of its taxes.

Notwithstanding taxes have increased and multiplied upon every article of common consumption, the land-tax, which more particularly affects this "pillar," has diminished. In 1788, the amount of the land-tax was £1,950,000, which is half a million less than it produced almost an hundred years ago*, notwithstanding the rentals are in many instances doubled since that period.

Before the coming of the Hanoverians, the taxes were divided in nearly equal proportions between the land and articles of consumption, the land bearing rather the largest share: but since that era, nearly thirteen millions annually of new taxes have been thrown upon consumption. The consequence of which has been a constant increase in the number and wretchedness of the poor, and in the amount of the poor-rates. Yet here again the burthen does not fall in equal proportions on the aristocracy with the rest of the community. Their residences, whether in town or country, are not mixed with the habitations of the poor. They live apart from distress, and the expence of relieving it. It is in manufacturing towns and labouring villages that those burthens press the heaviest; in many of which it is one class of poor supporting another.

Several of the most heavy and productive taxes are so contrived, as to give an exemption to this pillar, thus standing in its own defence. The tax upon beer brewed for sale does not affect the aristocracy, who brew their own beer free of this duty. It falls only on those who have not conveniency or ability to brew, and who must purchase it in small quantities. But what will mankind think of the justice of taxation, when they know, that this tax alone, from

* See Sir John Sinclair's History of the Revenue. The land-tax in 1646 was £2,473,499.

which the aristocracy are from circumstances exempt, is nearly equal to the whole of the land-tax, being in the year 1788, and it is not less now than £1,666,152, and with its proportion of the taxes on malt and hops, it exceeds it.—That a single article, thus partially consumed, and that chiefly by the working part, should be subject to a tax, equal to that on the whole rental of the nation, is, perhaps, a fact not to be paralleled in the Histories of Revenues.

This is one of the consequences resulting from an House of Legislation, composed on the ground of a combination of common interest; for whatever their separate politics as to parties may be, in this they are united. Whether a combination acts to raise the price of any article for sale, or the rate of wages; or whether it acts to throw taxes from itself upon another class of the community, the principle and the effect are the same; and if the one be illegal, it will be difficult to shew that the other ought to exist.

It is no use to say, that taxes are first proposed in the House of Commons; for as the other House has always a negative, it can always defend itself; and it would be ridiculous to suppose that its acquiescence in the measures to be proposed were not understood before hand. Besides which, it has obtained so much influence by borough-traffic, and so many of its relations and connections are distributed on both sides of the Commons, as to give it, besides an absolute negative in one House, a preponderancy in the other, in all matters of common concern.

It is difficult to discover what is meant by the *landed interest*, if it does not mean a combination of aristocratical land-holders, opposing their own pecuniary interest to that of the farmer, and every branch of trade, commerce, and manufacture. In all other respects it is the only interest that needs no partial protection. It enjoys the general protection of the world. Every individual, high or low, is interested in the fruits of the earth; men, women, and children, of all ages and degrees, will turn out to assist the farmer, rather than a harvest should not be got in; and they will not act thus by any other property. It is the only one for which the common prayer of mankind is put up, and the only one that can never fail from the want of means. It is the interest, not of the policy, but of the existence of man, and when it ceases, he must cease to be.

No other interest in a nation stands on the same united support. Commerce, manufactures, arts, sciences, and every thing else, compared with this, are supported but in

parts. Their prosperity or their decay has not the same universal influence. When the vallies laugh and sing, it is not the farmer only, but all creation that rejoice. It is a prosperity that excludes all envy; and this cannot be said of any thing else.

Why then does Mr. Burke talk of this House of Peers, as the pillar of the landed interest? Were that pillar to sink into the earth, the same landed property would continue, and the same ploughing, sowing, and reaping would go on. The aristocracy are not the farmers who work the land, and raise the produce, but are the mere consumers of the rent; and when compared with the active world are the drones, a seraglio of males, who neither collect the honey nor form the hive, but exist only for lazy enjoyment.

Mr. Burke, in his First Essay, called aristocracy, "*the Corinthian capital of polished society.*" Towards completing the figure, he has now added the *pillar*; but still the base is wanting; and whenever a Nation chuses to act a Sampson not blind, but bold, down go the Temple of Dagon, the Lords, and the Philistines.

If a House of Legislation is to be composed of men of one class, for the purpose of protecting a distinct interest, all the other interests should have the same. The inequality, as well as the burthen of taxation, arises from admitting it in one case, and not in all. Had there been an House of Farmers, there had been no game laws; or an House of Merchants and Manufacturers, the taxes had neither been so unequal nor so excessive. It is from the power of taxation being in the hands of those who can throw so great a part of it from their own shoulders, that it has raged without a check.

Men of small or moderate estates are more injured by the taxes being thrown on articles of consumption, than they are eased by warding it from landed property, for the following reasons:

First, They consume more of the productive taxable articles, in proportion to their property than those of large estates.

Secondly, Their residence is chiefly in towns, and their property in houses; and the encrease of the poor-rates, occasioned by taxes on consumption, is in much greater proportion than the land-tax has been favoured. In Birmingham, the poor-rates are not less than seven shillings in the pound. From this, as already observed, the aristocracy are in a great measure exempt.

These are but a part of the mischiefs flowing from the wretched scheme of an House of Peers.

As a combination, it can always throw a considerable portion of taxes from itself; and as an hereditary House, accountable to nobody, it resembles a rotten borough, whose consent is to be courted, by interest. There are but few of its members, who are not in some mode or other participators, or disposers of the public money. One turns a candle-holder, or a lord in waiting; another a lord of the bed-chamber, a groom of the stole, or any insignificant nominal office, to which a salary is annexed, paid out of the public taxes, and which avoids the direct appearance of corruption. Such situations are derogatory to the character of man; and where they can be submitted to, honour cannot reside.

To all these are to be added the numerous dependants, the long list of younger branches and distant relations, who are provided for at the public expence: in short, were an estimation to be made of the charges of aristocracy to a nation, it would be found nearly equal to that of supporting the poor. The Duke of Richmond alone (and there are cases similar to his) takes away as much for himself as would maintain two thousand poor and aged persons. Is it then any wonder, that under such a system of Government, taxes and rates have multiplied to their present extent?

In stating these matters, I speak an open and disinterested language, dictated by no passion but that of humanity. To me, who have not only refused offers, because I thought them improper, but have declined rewards I might with reputation have accepted, it is no wonder that meanness and imposition appear disgustful. Independence is my happiness, and I view things as they are, without regard to place or person; my country is the world, and my religion is to do good.

Mr. Burke, in speaking of the aristocratical law of primogeniture, says, "it is the standing law of our landed inheritance; and "which, without question, has a tendency, and I think," continues he, "a happy tendency, to preserve a character of weight and consequence."

Mr. Burke may call this law what he pleases, but humanity and impartial reflection will denounce it a law of brutal injustice. Were we not accustomed to the daily practice, and did we only hear of it as the law of some distant part of the world, we should conclude that the legislators of such countries had not yet arrived at a state of civilization.

As to its preserving a character of *weight and consequence*, the case appears to me directly the reverse. It is an attainment upon character; a sort of privateering on family property. It may have weight among dependant tenants, but it gives none on a scale of national, and much less of universal character. Speaking for myself, my parents were not able to give me a shilling, beyond what they gave me in education; and to do this they distressed themselves: yet, I possess more of what is called consequence, in the world, than any one in Mr. Burke's catalogue of aristocrats.

Having thus glanced at some of the defects of the two Houses of Parliament, I proceed to what is called the crown, upon which I shall be very concise.

It signifies a nominal office of a million sterling a year, the business of which consists in receiving the money. Whether the person be wise or foolish, sane or insane, a native or a foreigner matters not. Every ministry acts upon the same idea, that Mr. Burke writes, namely, that the People must be hoodwinked, and held in superstitious ignorance by some bugbear or other; and what is called the crown answers this purpose, and therefore it answers all the purposes to be expected from it. This is more than can be said of the other two branches. The hazard to which this office is exposed in all countries, is not from any thing that can happen to the man, but from what may happen to the nation—the danger of its coming to its senses.

It has been customary to call the crown the executive power, and the custom is continued, though the reason has ceased.

It was called the executive, because the person whom it signified, used formerly to sit in the character of a judge, in administering or executing the laws. The tribunals were then a part of the court. The power, therefore, which is now called the judicial, is what was called the executive; and, consequently, one or other of the terms is redundant, and one of the offices useless. When we speak of the crown now, it means nothing; it signifies neither a judge nor a general: besides which, it is the laws that govern, and not the man. The old terms are kept up, to give an appearance of consequence to empty forms: and the only effect they have is that of increasing expences.

Before I proceed to the means of rendering Governments more conducive to the general happiness of mankind, than they are at present, it will not be improper to take a review of the progress of taxation in England.

It is a general idea, that when taxes are once laid on, they are never taken off. However true this may have been of late, it was not always so. Either, therefore, the people of former times were more watchful over Government than those of the present, or Government was administered with less extravagance.

It is now seven hundred years since the Norman conquest, and the establishment of what is called the crown. Taking this portion of time in seven separate periods of one hundred years each, the amount of the annual taxes, at each period, will be as follows:—

Annual amount of taxes levied by William the Conqueror, beginning in the year 1066	£. 400,000
Annual amount of taxes at one hundred years from the conquest, (1166).....	200,000
Annual amount of taxes at two hundred years from the conquest, (1266).....	150,000
Annual amount of taxes at three hundred years from the conquest, (1366)...	130,000
Annual amount of taxes at four hundred years from the conquest, (1466).....	100,000

These statements, and those which follow, are taken from Sir John Sinclair's History of the Revenue; by which it appears, that taxes continued decreasing for four hundred years, at the expiration of which time they were reduced three-fourths, viz. from four hundred thousand pounds to one hundred thousand. The People of England of the present day, have a traditionary and historical idea of the bravery of their ancestors; but whatever their virtues or their vices might have been, they certainly were a People, who would not be imposed upon, and who kept Government in awe as to taxation, if not as to principle. Though they were not able to expel the monarchical usurpation, they restricted it to a republican economy of taxes.

Let us now review the remaining three hundred years.

Annual amount of taxes at five hundred years from the conquest, (1566)	£. 500,000
Annual amount of taxes at six hundred years from the conquest, (1666).....	1,800,000
Annual amount of taxes at the present time (1791).....	17,000,000

The difference between the first four hundred years and the last three, is so astonishing, as to warrant an opinion,

that the national character of the English has changed. It would have been impossible to have dragooned the former English, into the excess of taxation that now exists; and when it is considered that the pay of the army, the navy, and of all the revenue officers, is the same now as it was above a hundred years ago, when the taxes were not above a tenth part of what they are at present, it appears impossible to account for the enormous increase and expenditure, on any other ground, than extravagance, corruption, and intrigue.*

* Several of the Court newspapers have of late made frequent mention of Wat Tyler. That his memory should be traduced by court sycophants, and all those who live on the spoil of a public, is not to be wondered at. He was, however, the means of checking the rage and injustice of taxation in his time, and the nation owed much to his valour. The history is concisely this:—In the time of Richard the Second, a poll-tax was levied, of one shilling per head, upon every person in the nation, of whatever estate or condition, on poor as well as rich, above the age of fifteen years. If any favour was shewn in the law, it was to the rich rather than to the poor; as no person should be charged more than twenty shillings for himself, family, and servants, though ever so numerous; while all other families, under the number of twenty, were charged per head. Poll-taxes had always been odious; but this being also oppressive and unjust, it excited, as it naturally must, universal detestation among the poor and middle classes. The person known by the name of Wat Tyler, whose proper name was Walter, and a tyler by trade, lived at Deptford. The gatherer of the poll-tax, on coming to his house, demanded tax for one of his daughters, whom Tyler declared was under the age of fifteen. The tax-gatherer insisted on satisfying himself, and began an indecent examination of the girl, which enraging the father, he struck him with a hammer, that brought him to the ground, and was the cause of his death.

This circumstance served to bring the Discontents to an issue. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood espoused the cause of Tyler, who, in a few days, was joined, according to some histories, by upwards of fifty thousand men, and chosen their chief. With this force he marched to London, to demand an abolition of the tax, and a redress of other grievances. The Court, finding itself in a forlorn condition, and unable to make resistance, agreed, with Richard at its head, to hold a conference with Tyler in Smithfield, making many fair professions, courtier-like, of its disposition to redress the oppressions. While Richard and Tyler were in conversation on these matters, each being on horseback, Walworth, then Mayor of London, and one of the creatures of the court, watched an opportunity, and like a cowardly assassin, stabbed

With the Revolution of 1688, and more so since the Hanover succession, came the destructive system of continental intrigues, and the rage for foreign wars and foreign dominion; systems of such secure mystery that the expences admit of no accounts; a single line stands for millions. To what excess taxation might have extended, had not the French Revolution contributed to break up the system, and put an end to pretences, is impossible to say. Viewed, as that Revolution ought to be, as the fortunate means of lessening the load of taxes of both countries, it is of as much importance to England as to France; and, if properly improved to all the advantages of which it is capable, and to which it leads, deserves as much celebration in one country as the other.

In pursuing this subject, I shall begin with the matter that first presents itself, that of lessening the burthen of taxes; and shall then add such matters and propositions, respecting the three countries of England, France, and America, as the present prospect of things appears to justify: I mean, an alliance of the three, for the purposes that will be mentioned in their proper place.

What has happened may happen again. By the statement before shewn of the progress of taxation, it is seen, that taxes have been lessened to a fourth part of what they had formerly been. Though the present circumstances do not admit of the same reduction, yet it admits of such a beginning, as may accomplish that end in less time, than in the former case.

The amount of taxes for the year, ending at Michaelmas 1788, was as follows:

Land-tax.....	£1,950,000
Customs.....	3,789,274
	£5,739,274
	Carried over

Tyler with a dagger; and two or three others falling upon him, he was instantly sacrificed.

Tyler appears to have been an intrepid disinterested man, with respect to himself. All his proposals made to Richard, were on a more just and public ground, than those which had been made to John by the Barons; and notwithstanding the sycophancy of historians, and men, like Mr. Burke, who seek to gloss over a base action of the court by traducing Tyler, his fame will outlive their falsehood. If the Barons merited a monument to be erected in Runnymede, Tyler merits one in Smithfield.

	Brought over.....	5,739,274
Excise (including ale and new malt)	6,751,727	
Stamps	1,278,214	
Miscellaneous taxes and incidents	1,803,755	
		<hr/>
		£. 15,572,970

Since the year 1778, upwards of one million new taxes have been laid on, besides the produce from the lotteries; and as the taxes have in general been more productive since than before, the amount may be taken, in round numbers, at 17,000,000.

N. B. The expence of collection and the drawbacks, which together amount to nearly two millions, are paid out of the gross amount; and the above is the nett sum paid into the Exchequer

This sum of seventeen millions is applied to two different purposes; the one to pay the interest of the national debt, the other to the current expences of each year. About nine millions are appropriated to the former; and the remainder, being nearly eight millions, to the latter. As to the million, said to be applied to the reduction of the debt, it is so much like paying with one hand and taking out with the other, as not to merit much notice.

It happened, fortunately for France, that she possessed national domains for paying off her debt, and thereby lessening her taxes: but as this is not the case in England, her reduction of taxes can only take place by reducing the current expences, which may now be done to the amount of four or five millions annually, as will hereafter appear. When this is accomplished, it will more than counterbalance the enormous charge of the American war; and the saving will be from the same source from whence the evil arose.

As to the national debt, however heavy the interest may be in taxes; yet, as it serves to keep alive a capital useful to commerce, it balances by its effects a considerable part of its own weight; and as the quantity of gold and silver in England is, by some means or other, short of its proper proportion,* (being not more than twenty millions, whereas it should be sixty,) it would, besides the injustice, be bad policy to extinguish a capital that serves to supply that de-

* Foreign intrigue, foreign wars, and foreign dominions, will in a great measure account for the deficiency.

fect. But with respect to the current expence, whatever is saved therefrom is gain. The excess may serve to keep corruption alive, but it has no re-action on credit and commerce, like the interest of the debt.

It is now very probable, that the English Government (I do not mean the nation) is unfriendly to the French Revolution. Whatever serves to expose the intrigue and lessen the influence of courts, by lessening taxation, will be unwelcome to those who feed upon the spoil. Whilst the clamour of French intrigue, arbitrary power, popery, and wooden shoes could be kept up, the nation was easily allured and alarmed into taxes. Those days are now past; deception, it is to be hoped, has reaped its last harvest, and better times are in prospect for both countries, and for the world.

Taking it for granted, that an alliance may be formed between England, France, and America, for the purposes hereafter to be mentioned, the national expences of France and England may consequently be lessened. The same fleets and armies will no longer be necessary to either, and the reduction can be made ship for ship on each side. But to accomplish these objects, the Governments must necessarily be fitted to a common and correspondent principle. Confidence can never take place, while an hostile disposition remains in either, or where mystery and secrecy on one side, is opposed to candour and openness on the other.

These matters admitted, the national expences might be put back, *for the sake of a precedent*, to what they were at some period when France and England were not enemies. This, consequently, must be prior to the Hanover succession, and also to the Revolution of 1688.* The first in-

* I happened to be in England at the celebration of the centenary of the Revolution of 1688. The characters of William and Mary have always appeared to me detestable; the one seeking to destroy his uncle, and the other her father, to get possession of power themselves; yet, as the nation was disposed to think something of that event, I felt hurt at seeing it ascribe the whole reputation of it to a man who had undertaken it as a job, and who, besides what he otherwise got, charged £600,000 for the expence of the little fleet that brought him from Holland. George the First acted the same close-fisted part as William had done, and bought the Duchy of Bremen with the money he got from England, £.250,000 over and above his pay as King; and having thus

stance that presents itself, antecedent to those dates, is in the very wasteful and profligate times of Charles the Second, at which time England and France acted as allies. If I have chosen a period of great extravagance, it will serve to shew modern extravagance, in a still worse light; especially as the pay of the navy, the army, and the revenue officers has not increased since that time.

The peace establishment was then as follows:—See Sir John Sinclair's History of the Revenue.

	£.
Navy	300,000
Army	212,000
Ordinance	40,000
Civil List	462,115
	£.1,014,115

The Parliament, however, settled the whole annual peace establishment at £.1,200,000.* If we go back to the time of Elizabeth, the amount of all the taxes was but half a million, yet the nation sees nothing during that period, that reproaches it with want of consequence.

All circumstances then, taken together, arising from the French Revolution, from the approaching harmony and reciprocal interest of the two nations, the abolition of court intrigue on both sides, and the progress of knowledge in the science of Government, the annual expenditure might be put back to one million and an half, viz.

Navy	500,000
Army	500,000
Expences of Government	500,000
	£.1,500,000

purchased it at the expence of England, added it to his Hanoverian dominions for his own private profit. In fact, every nation that does not govern itself, is governed as a job. England has been the prey of jobs ever since the Revolution.

* Charles, like his predecessors and successors, finding that war was the harvest of Governments, engaged in a war with the Dutch, the expence of which increased the annual expenditure to £1,800,000, as stated under the date of 1666; but the peace establishment was but £1,200,000.

Even this sum is six times greater than the expences of Government are in America, yet the civil internal Government in England, (I mean that administered by means of quarter sessions, juries, and assize, and which, in fact, is nearly the whole, and performed by the nation,) is less expence upon the revenue, than the same species and portion of Government is in America.

It is time that nations should be rational, and not be governed like animals, for the pleasure of their riders. To read the history of kings, a man would be almost inclined to suppose that Government consisted in stag-hunting, and that every nation paid a million a year to a huntsman. Man ought to have pride, or shame enough to blush at being thus imposed upon, and when he feels his proper character, he will. Upon all subjects of this nature, there is often passing in the mind, a train of ideas he has not yet accustomed himself to encourage and communicate. Restrained by something that puts on the character of prudence, he acts the hypocrite upon himself as well as to others. It is, however, curious to observe how soon this spell can be dissolved. A single expression, boldly conceived and uttered, will sometimes put a whole company into their proper feelings; and whole nations are acted upon in the same manner.

As to the offices of which any civil Government may be composed, it matters but little by what names they are described. In the routine of business, as before observed, whether a man be styled a President, a King, an Emperor, a Senator, or any thing else, it is impossible that any service he can perform, can merit from a nation more than ten thousand pounds a year; and as no man should be paid beyond his services, so every man of a proper heart will not accept more. Public money ought to be touched with the most scrupulous consciousness of honour. It is not the produce of riches only, but of the hard earnings of labour and poverty. It is drawn even from the bitterness of want and misery. Not a beggar passes, or perishes in the streets, whose mite is not in that mass.

Were it possible that the Congress of America, could be so lost to their duty, and to the interest of their constituents, as to offer General Washington, as President of America, a million a year, he would not, and he could not, accept it. His sense of honour is of another kind. It has cost England almost seventy millions sterling, to maintain a family imported from abroad, of very inferior capacity to thousands in the nation; and scarcely a year has passed

that has not produced some new mercenary application. Even the physicians' bills have been sent to the public to be paid. No wonder that jails are crowded, and taxes and poor-rates increased. Under such systems, nothing is to be looked for but what has already happened; and as to reformation, whenever it come, it must be from the nation, and not from the Government.

To shew that the sum of five hundred thousand pounds is more than sufficient to defray all the expences of Government, exclusive of navies and armies, the following estimate is added for any country of the same extent as England.

In the first place, three hundred representatives, fairly elected, are sufficient for all the purposes to which legislation can apply, and preferable to a larger number. They may be divided into two or three houses, or meet in one, as in France, or in any manner a Constitution shall direct.

As representation is always considered, in free countries, as the most honourable of all stations, the allowance made to it is merely to defray the expence which the representatives incur by that service, and not to it as an office.

If an allowance, at the rate of five hundred pounds *per ann.* be made to every representative, deducting for non-attendance, the expence, if the whole number attended for six months, each year, would be £.75000

The official departments cannot reasonably exceed the following number, with the salaries annexed:

Three offices, at ten thousand pounds each		30,000
Ten ditto	at £.5000 each	50,000
Twenty ditto	at 2000 each	40,000
Forty ditto	at 1000 each	40,000
Two hundred ditto	at 500 each	100,000
Three hundred ditto	at 200 each	60,000
Five hundred ditto	at 100 each	50,000
Seven hundred ditto	at 75 each	52,500

£.497,500

If a nation choose, it can deduct four *per cent.* from all offices, and make one of twenty thousand *per ann.*

All revenue officers are paid out of the monies they collect, and therefore are not in this estimation.

The foregoing is not offered as an exact detail of offices, but to shew the number and rate of salaries which five hundred thousand pounds will support; and it will, on experience, be found impracticable to find business sufficient to justify even this expence. As to the manner in which office business is now performed, the chiefs, in several offices, such as the post office, and certain offices in the exchequer, &c. do little more than sign their names three or four times a year; and the whole duty is performed by under clerks.

Taking, therefore, one million and a half as a sufficient peace establishment for all the honest purposes of Government, which is three hundred thousand pounds more than the peace establishment in the profligate and prodigal times of Charles the Second, (notwithstanding, as has been already observed, the pay and salaries of the army, navy, and the revenue officers, continue the same as at that period) there will remain a surplus of upwards of six millions out of the present current expences. The question then will be, how to dispose of this surplus.

Whoever has observed the manner in which trade and taxes twist themselves together, must be sensible of the impossibility of separating them suddenly.

First. Because the articles now on hand are already charged with the duty, and the reduction cannot take place on the present stock.

Secondly. Because, on all those articles on which the duty is charged in the gross, such as per barrel, hogshead, hundred weight, or tun, the abolition of the duty does not admit of being divided down so as fully to relieve the consumer, who purchases by the pint, or the pound. The last duty laid on strong beer and ale, was three shillings per barrel, which, if taken off, would lessen the purchase only half a farthing per pint, and, consequently, would not reach to practical relief.

This being the condition of a great part of the taxes it will be necessary to look for such others as are free from this embarrassment, and where the relief will be direct and visible, and capable of immediate operation.

In the first place, then, the poor-rates are a direct tax which every housekeeper feels, and who knows also, to a farthing, the sum which he pays. The national amount of the whole of the poor-rates is not positively known, but can be procured. Sir John Sinclair, in his History of the

Revenue, has stated it at £2,100,587. A considerable part of which is expended in litigations, in which the poor, instead of being relieved, are tormented. The expence, however, is the same to the parish, from whatever cause it arises.

In Birmingham, the amount of the poor-rates is fourteen thousand pounds a year. This, though a large sum, is moderate, compared with the population. Birmingham is said to contain seventy thousand souls, and on a proportion of seventy thousand to fourteen thousand pounds poor-rates, the national amount of the poor-rates taking the population of England at seven millions, would be but one million four hundred thousand pounds. It is, therefore, most probable, that the population of Birmingham is overrated. Fourteen thousand pounds is the proportion upon fifty thousand souls, taking two millions of poor-rates as the national amount.

Be it, however, what it may, it is no other than the consequence of the excessive burthen of taxes, for, at the time when the taxes were very low, the poor were able to maintain themselves; and there were no poor-rates.* In the present state of things, a labouring man, with a wife and two or three children, does not pay less than between seven and eight pounds a year in taxes. He is not sensible of this, because it is disguised to him in the articles which he buys, and he thinks only of their dearness; but as the taxes take from him, at least a fourth part of his yearly earnings, he is consequently disabled from providing for a family, especially if himself, or any of them are afflicted with sickness.

The first step, therefore, of practical relief, would be to abolish the poor-rates entirely, and in lieu thereof, to make a remission of the taxes of the poor of double the amount of the present poor-rates, viz. four millions annually out of the surplus taxes. By this measure, the poor will be benefited two millions, and the housekeepers two millions. This alone would be equal to a reduction of one hundred and twenty millions of the national debt, and consequently equal to the whole expence of the American war.

It will then remain to be considered, which is the most effectual mode of distributing this remission of four millions.

* Poor-rates began about the time of Henry the Eighth, when the taxes began to increase, and they have increased as the taxes increased ever since.

It is easily seen, that the poor are generally composed of large families of children, and old people past their labour. If these two classes are provided for, the remedy will so far reach to the full extent of the case, that what remains will be incidental, and, in a great measure, fall within the compass of benefit clubs, which, though of humble invention, merit to be ranked among the best of modern institutions.

Admitting England to contain seven millions of souls; if one-fifth thereof are of that class of poor which need support, the number will be one million four hundred thousand. Of this number, one hundred and forty thousand will be aged poor, as will be hereafter shewn, and for which a distinct provision will be proposed.

There will then remain one million two hundred and sixty thousand, which, at five souls to each family, amount to two hundred and fifty-two thousand families, rendered poor from the expence of children and the weight of taxes.

The number of children under fourteen years of age, in each of those families, will be found to be about five to every two families; some having two, and others three; some one, and others four; some none, and others five; but it rarely happens that more than five are under fourteen years of age, and after this age they are capable of service or of being apprenticed.

Allowing five children (under fourteen years) to every two families,

The number of children will be	630,000
The number of parents were they all living, would be	504,000

It is certain, that if the children are provided for, the parents are relieved of consequence, because it is from the expence of bringing up children that their poverty arises.

Having thus ascertained the greatest number that can be supposed to need support on account of young families, I proceed to the mode of relief or distribution, which is,

To pay as a remission of taxes to every poor family, out of the surplus taxes, and in room of poor-rates, four pounds a year for every child under fourteen years of age; enjoining the parents of such children to send them to school, to learn reading, writing, and common arithmetic; the ministers of every parish, of every denomination, to certify joint-

ly to an office, for that purpose, that this duty is performed.

The amount of this expence will be,

For six hundred and thirty thousand children,	£.
at four pounds <i>per ann.</i> each	2,520,000

By adopting this method, not only the poverty of the parents will be relieved, but ignorance will be banished from the rising generation, and the number of poor will hereafter become less, because their abilities, by the aid of education, will be greater. Many a youth, with good natural genius, who is apprenticed to a mechanical trade, such as a carpenter, joiner, millwright, shipwright, blacksmith, &c. is prevented getting forward the whole of his life, from the want of a little common education when a boy.

I now proceed to the case of the aged.

I divide age into two classes. First, the approach of age beginning at fifty. Secondly, old age commencing at sixty.

At fifty, though the mental faculties of man are in full vigour, and his judgment better than at any preceding date, the bodily powers for laborious life are on the decline. He cannot bear the same quantity of fatigue as at an earlier period. He begins to earn less, and is less capable of enduring wind and weather; and in those more retired employments where much sight is required, he fails apace, and sees himself, like an old horse, beginning to be turned adrift.

At sixty his labour ought to be over, at least from direct necessity. It is painful to see old age working itself to death, in what are called civilized countries, for daily bread.

To form some judgment of the number of those above fifty years of age, I have several times counted the persons I met in the streets of London, men, women, and children, and have generally found that the average is about one in sixteen or seventeen. If it be said that the aged persons do not come much in the streets, so neither do infants; and a great proportion of grown children are in schools, and in work-shops as apprentices. Taking then sixteen for a divisor, the whole number of persons in England, of fifty years and upwards of both sexes, rich and poor, will be four hundred and twenty thousand.

The persons to be provided for out of this gross number will be, husbandmen, common labourers, journeymen of

every trade and their wives, sailors, and disbanded soldiers, worn out servants of both sexes, and poor widows.

There will be also a considerable number of middling tradesmen, who having lived decently in the former part of life, begin, as age approaches, to lose their business, and at last fall to decay.

Besides these, there will be constantly thrown off from the revolutions of that wheel, which no man can stop, nor regulate, a number from every class of life connected with commerce and adventure.

To provide for all those accidents, and whatever else may befall, I take the number of persons, who at one time or other of their lives, after fifty years of age, may feel it necessary or comfortable to be better supported, than they can support themselves, and that not as a matter of grace and favour, but of right, at one third of the whole number, which is one hundred and forty thousand, as stated in page 91, and for whom a distinct provision was proposed to be made. If there be more, society, notwithstanding the shew and pomposity of Government, is in a deplorable condition in England.

Of this one hundred and forty thousand, I take one half, seventy thousand, to be of the age of fifty and under sixty, and the other half to be sixty years and upwards.—Having thus ascertained the probable proportion of the number of aged persons, I proceed to the mode of rendering their condition comfortable, which is,

To pay every such person of the age of fifty years, and until he arrive at the age of sixty, the sum of six pounds *per ann.* out of the surplus taxes; and ten pounds *per ann.* during life after the age of sixty. The expence of which will be,

Seventy thousand persons at £. 6 per ann.	420,000
Seventy thousand ditto at £. 10 per ann.	700,000
	£. 1,120,000

This support, as already remarked, is not of the nature of a charity, but of a right. Every person in England, male and female, pays on an average in taxes, two pounds eight shillings and sixpence *per ann.* from the day of his (or her) birth; and, if the expence of collection be added, he pays two pounds eleven shillings and sixpence; consequently, at the end of fifty years he has paid one hundred and twenty-eight pounds fifteen shillings; and at sixty, one hundred

and fifty-four pounds ten shillings. Converting, therefore, his (or her) individual tax into a tontine, the money he shall receive after fifty years, is but little more than the legal interest of the nett money he has paid; the rest is made up from those whose circumstances do not require them to draw such support, and the capital of both defrays the expences of Government. It is on this ground that I have extended the probable claims to one-third of the number of aged persons in the nation. Is it then better that the lives of one hundred and forty thousand aged persons be rendered comfortable, or that a million a year of public money be expended on any one individual, and him often of the most worthless or insignificant character? Let reason and justice, let honour and humanity, let even hypocrisy, sycophancy, and Mr. Burke, let George, let Louis, Leopold, Frederic, Catharine, Cornwallis, or Tippoo Saib answer the question.*

The sum thus remitted to the poor will be,

To two hundred and sixty-two thousand poor families, containing six hundred and thirty thousand children	2,520,000
To one hundred and forty thousand aged persons	1,120,000
	£.3,640,000

* Reckoning the taxes by families, five to a family pays on an average, £12. 17s. 6d. per annum, to this sum are to be added the poor-rates. Though all pay taxes in the articles they consume, all do not pay poor-rates. About two millions are exempted; some as not being house-keepers, others as not being able, and the poor themselves who receive the relief. The average, therefore, of poor-rates on the remaining number, is forty shillings for every family of five persons, which makes the whole average amount of taxes and rates, £14. 17s. 6d. For six persons £17. 17s. For seven persons, £20. 16s. 6d.

The average of taxes in America, under the new and representative system of Government, including the interest of the debt contracted in the war, and taking the population at four millions of souls, which it now amounts to, and it is daily increasing, is five shillings per head, men, women, and children. The difference, therefore, between the two Governments, is as under,

	England.			America.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
For a family of five persons	14	17	6	..	1	5 0
For a family of six persons	17	17	0	..	1	10 0
For a family of seven persons	20	16	6	..	1	15 0

There will then remain three hundred and sixty thousand pounds out of the four millions, part of which may be applied as follows:—

After all the above cases are provided for, there will still be a number of families, who though not properly of the class of poor, yet find it difficult to give education to their children; and such children, under such a case, would be in a worse condition than if their parents were actually poor. A nation under a well-regulated Government, should permit none to be uninstructed. It is monarchical and aristocratical Government only that requires ignorance for its support.

Suppose, then, four hundred thousand children to be in this condition, which is a greater number than ought to be supposed, after the provision already made, the method will be,

To allow for each of those children ten shillings a year for the expence of schooling, for six years each, which will give them six months schooling each year, and half a crown a year for paper and spelling-books.

The expence of this will be annually* £250,000.

There will then remain one hundred and ten thousand pounds.

Notwithstanding the great modes of relief which the best instituted and best principled Government may devise, there will still be a great number of smaller cases, which it is good policy as well as beneficence in a nation to consider.

Were twenty shillings to be given immediately on the birth of a child to every woman who should make the de-

* Public schools do not answer the general purpose of the poor. They are chiefly in corporation towns, from which the country towns and villages are excluded; or, if admitted, the distance occasions a great loss of time. Education, to be useful to the poor, should be on the spot; and the best method, I believe, to accomplish this, is to enable the parents to pay the expence themselves. There are always persons of both sexes to be found in every village, especially when growing into years, capable of such an undertaking. Twenty children, at ten shillings each, (and that not more than six months each year) would be as much as some livings amount to in the remote parts of England; and there are often distressed clergymen's widows to whom such an income would be acceptable. Whatever is given on this account to children, answers two purposes, to them it is education, to those who educate them it is a livelihood.

mand, and none will make it whose circumstances do not require it, it might relieve a great deal of instant distress.

There are about two hundred thousand births yearly in England; and if claimed by one-fourth,

The amount would be..... £50,000

And twenty shillings to every new-married couple who should claim in like manner,

This would not exceed the sum of..... £20,000

Also twenty thousand pounds to be appropriated to defray the funeral expences of persons, who, travelling for work, may die at a distance from their friends. By relieving parishes from this charge, the sick stranger will be better treated.

I shall finish this part of the subject with a plan adapted to the particular condition of a metropolis, such as London.

Cases are continually occurring in a metropolis, different to those which occur in the country, and for which a different, or rather an additional mode of relief is necessary. In the country, even in large towns, people have a knowledge of each other, and distress never rises to that extreme height it sometimes does in a metropolis. There is no such thing in the country as persons, in the literal sense of the word, starved to death, or dying with cold from the want of a lodging. Yet such cases, and others equally as miserable, happen in London.

Many a youth comes up to London full of expectations, and with little or no money, and unless he get immediate employment, he is already half undone; and boys bred up in London, without any means of a livelihood, and as it often happens of dissolute parents, are in a still worse condition; and servants long out of place are not much better off. In short, a world of little cases are continually arising, which busy or affluent life knows not of, to open the first door to distress. Hunger is not among the postponeable wants, and a day, even a few hours, in such a condition, is often the crisis of a life of ruin.

These circumstances, which are the general cause of the little thefts and pilferings that lead to greater, may be prevented. There yet remain twenty thousand pounds out of the four millions of surplus taxes, which, with another fund hereafter to be mentioned, amounting to about twenty thousand pounds more, cannot be better applied than to this purpose. The plan then will be,

First, To erect two or more buildings, or take some

already erected, capable of containing at least six thousand persons, and to have in each of these places as many kinds of employment as can be contrived, so that every person who shall come may find something which he or she can do.

Secondly, To receive all who shall come, without inquiring who or what they are. The only condition to be, that for so much, or so many hours work, each person shall receive so many meals of wholesome food, and a warm lodging, at least as good as a barrack. That a certain portion of what each person's work shall be worth shall be reserved, and given to him, or her, on their going away; and that each person shall stay as long, or as short time, or come as often as he or she choose, on these conditions.

If each person staid three months, it would assist by rotation twenty-four thousand persons annually, though the real number, at all times, would be but six thousand. By establishing an asylum of this kind, persons to whom temporary distresses occur, would have an opportunity to recruit themselves, and be enabled to look out for better employment. Allowing that their labour paid but one half the expence of supporting them, after reserving a portion of their earnings for themselves, the sum of forty thousand pounds additional, would defray all other charges for even a greater number than six thousand.

The fund very properly convertible to this purpose, in addition to the twenty thousand pounds remaining of the former fund, will be the produce of the tax upon coals, so iniquitously and wantonly applied to the support of the Duke of Richmond. It is horrid that any man, more especially at the price coals now are, should live on the distresses of a community; and any Government permitting such an abuse deserves to be dismissed. This fund is said to be about twenty thousand pounds *per annum*.

I shall now conclude this plan with enumerating the several particulars, and then proceed to other matters.

The enumeration is as follows:—

First, Abolition of two millions of poor-rates.

Secondly, Provision for two hundred and fifty-two thousand poor families.

Thirdly, Education for one million and thirty thousand children.

Fourthly, Comfortable provision for one hundred and forty thousand aged persons.

Fifthly, Donation of twenty shillings each for fifty thousand births.

Sixthly, Donation of twenty shillings each for twenty thousand marriages.

Seventhly, Allowance of twenty thousand pounds for the funeral expences of persons travelling for work, and dying at a distance from their friends.

Eighthly, Employment, at all times, for the casual poor in the cities of London and Westminster.

By the operation of this plan, the poor laws, those instruments of civil torture, will be superseded, and the wasteful expence of litigation prevented. The hearts of the humane will not be shocked by ragged and hungry children, and persons of seventy and eighty years of age begging for bread. The dying poor will not be dragged from place to place to breathe their last, as a reprisal of parish upon parish. Widows will have a maintainance for their children, and not be carted away, on the death of their husbands, like culprits and criminals; and children will no longer be considered as increasing the distresses of their parents. The haunts of the wretched will be known, because it will be to their advantage; and the number of petty crimes, the offspring of distress and poverty, will be lessened. The poor, as well as the rich, will then be interested in the support of Government, and the cause and apprehension of riots and tumults will cease. Ye who sit in ease, and solace yourselves in plenty, and such there are in Turkey and Russia, as well as in England, and who say to yourselves, "Are we not well off," have ye thought of these things? When ye do, ye will cease to speak and feel for yourselves alone.

The plan is easy in practice. It does not embarrass trade by a sudden interruption in the order of taxes, but effects the relief by changing the application of them; and the money necessary for the purpose can be drawn from the excise collections, which are made eight times a year in every market town in England.

Having now arranged and concluded this subject, I proceed to the next.

Taking the present current expences at seven millions and an half, which is the least amount they are now at, there will remain (after the sum of one million and an half be taken for the new current expences, and four millions for the before-mentioned service) the sum of two millions; part of which to be applied as follows:—

Though fleets and armies, by an alliance with France, will, in a great measure, become useless, yet the persons who have devoted themselves to those services, and have

thereby unfitted themselves for other lines of life, are not to be sufferers by the means that make others happy. They are a different description of men to those who form or hang about a court.

A part of the army will remain at least for some years, and also of the navy, for which a provision is already made in the former part of this plan, of one million, which is almost half a million more than the peace establishment of the army and navy in the prodigal times of Charles the Second.

Suppose then fifteen thousand soldiers to be disbanded, and that an allowance be made to each of three shillings a week during life, clear of all deductions, to be paid in the same manner as the Chelsea College Pensioners are paid, and for them to return to their trades and their friends; and also that an addition of fifteen thousand sixpences per week be made to the pay of the soldiers who shall remain; the annual expence will be,

To the pay of fifteen thousand disbanded soldiers, at three shilling per week..... ..	£.	117,000
Additional pay to the remaining soldiers..... ..		19,500
Suppose that the pay of the officers of the disbanded corps be of the same amount as the sum allowed to the men..... ..		117,000
		<hr/>
		253,500
To prevent bulky estimations, admit the same sum to the disbanded navy as to the army, and the same increase of pay..... ..		253,500
		<hr/>
Total..... ..	£.	507,000

Every year some part of this sum of half a million (I omit the odd seven thousand pounds for the purpose of keeping the account unembarrassed) will fall in, and the whole of it in time, as it is on the ground of life annuities, except the increased pay of twenty-nine thousand pounds. As it falls in, a part of the taxes may be taken off; for instance, when thirty thousand pounds fall in, the duty on hops may be wholly taken off; and as other parts fall in,

the duties on candles and soap may be lessened, till at last they will totally cease.

There now remains at least one million and a half of surplus taxes.

The tax on houses and windows is one of those direct taxes, which, like the poor-rates, is not confounded with trade; and, when taken off, the relief will be instantly felt. This tax falls heavy on the middling class of people.

The amount of this tax by the returns of 1788, was,

Houses and windows by the act of 1776...	385,459	11	7
Ditto ditto by the act of 1779...	130,739	14	5
			0
Total	£.516,199	6	0

If this tax be struck off, there will then remain about one million of surplus taxes, and as it is always proper to keep a sum in reserve, for incidental matters, it may be best not to extend reductions further, in the first instance, but to consider what may be accomplished by other modes of reform.

Among the taxes most heavily felt is the commutation-tax. I shall, therefore, offer a plan for its abolition, by substituting another in its place, which will effect three objects at once:

First, That of removing the burthen to where it can best be borne.

Secondly, Restoring justice among families by a distribution of property.

Thirdly, Extirpating the overgrown influence arising from the unnatural law of primogeniture, and which is one of the principal sources of corruption at elections.

The amount of the commutation-tax by the returns of 1788, was..... £.771,657

When taxes are proposed, the country is amused by the plausible language of taxing luxuries. One thing is called a luxury at one time, and something else at another; but the real luxury does not consist in the article, but in the means of procuring it, and this is always kept out of sight.

I know not why any plant or herb of the field should be a greater luxury in one country than another, but an overgrown estate is a luxury at all times, and as such is the proper object of taxation. It is, therefore, right to take those kind tax-making gentlemen up on their own word, and argue on the principle themselves have laid down, that of *taxing luxuries*. If they, or their champion Mr. Burke,

who, I fear, is growing out of date, like the man in armour, can prove that an estate of twenty, thirty, or forty thousand pounds a year is not a luxury, I will give up the argument.

Admitting that any annual sum, say for instance, one thousand pounds, is necessary or sufficient for the support of a family, consequently the second thousand is of the nature of a luxury, the third still more so, and by proceeding on, we shall at last arrive at a sum that may not improperly be called a prohibitable luxury. It would not be impolitic to set bounds to property acquired by industry, and therefore it is right to place the prohibition beyond the probable acquisition to which industry can extend; but there ought to be a limit to property, or the accumulation of it, by bequest. It should pass in some other line. The richest in every nation have poor relations, and those often very near in consanguinity.

The following table of progressive taxation is constructed on the above principles, and as a substitute for the commutation-tax. It will reach the point of prohibition by a regular operation, and thereby supersede the aristocratical law of primogeniture.

TABLE I.

A tax on all estates of the clear yearly value of fifty pounds, after deducting the land-tax, and up

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	
To £.500.....	0	3	per pound
From 500 to 1000.....	0	6	per pound
On the second thousand.....	0	9	per pound
On the third ditto.....	1	0	per pound
On the fourth ditto.....	1	6	per pound
On the fifth ditto.....	2	0	per pound
On the sixth ditto.....	3	0	per pound
On the seventh ditto.....	4	0	per pound
On the eighth ditto.....	5	0	per pound
On the ninth ditto.....	6	0	per pound
On the tenth ditto.....	7	0	per pound
On the eleventh ditto.....	8	0	per pound
On the twelfth ditto.....	9	0	per pound
On the thirteenth ditto.....	10	0	per pound
On the fourteenth ditto.....	11	0	per pound
On the fifteenth ditto.....	12	0	per pound
On the sixteenth ditto.....	13	0	per pound
On the seventeenth ditto.....	14	0	per pound

	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
On the eighteenth ditto.....	15	0 per pound
On the nineteenth ditto.....	16	0 per pound
On the twentieth ditto.....	17	0 per pound
On the twenty-first ditto.....	18	0 per pound
On the twenty-second ditto.....	19	0 per pound
On the twenty-third ditto.....	20	0 per pound

The foregoing table shews the progression per pound on every progressive thousand. The following table shews the amount of the tax on every thousand separately, and in the last column, the total amount of all the separate sums collected.

TABLE II.

	<i>d.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
An estate of £. 50 per ann. at 3 per pound pays		0	12	6
100	3	1	5	0
200	3	2	10	0
300	3	3	15	0
400	3	5	0	0
500	3	7	5	0

After 500*l.*—the tax of sixpence per pound takes place on the second £. 500—consequently an estate of £. 1000 per ann. pays £. 21 15*s.* and so on.

	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>		<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>£.</i>	<i>s.</i>	
For the 1st 500 at 0 3 per pound					7	5	} ...	21	15
2d 500 at 0 6 ...					14	10			
2d 1000 at 0 9 ...					37	10		59	5
3d 1000 at 1 0 ...					50	0		109	5
4th 1000 at 1 6 ...					75	0		184	5
5th 1000 at 2 0 ...					100	0		284	5
6th 1000 at 3 0 ...					150	0		434	5
7th 1000 at 4 0 ...					200	0		634	5
8th 1000 at 5 0 ...					250	0		880	5
9th 1000 at 6 0 ...					300	0		1180	5
10th 1000 at 7 0 ...					350	0		1530	5
11th 1000 at 8 0 ...					400	0		1930	5
12th 1000 at 9 0 ...					450	0		2380	5
13th 1000 at 10 0 ...					500	0		2880	5
14th 1000 at 11 0 ...					550	0		3430	5
15th 1000 at 12 0 ...					600	0		4030	5
16th 1000 at 13 0 ...					650	0		4680	5

	£.	s.	d.	...	£.	s.	...	£.	s.
17th	1000	at	14	0	...	700	0	...	5380 5
18th	1000	at	15	0	...	750	0	...	6130 5
19th	1000	at	16	0	...	800	0	...	6930 5
20th	1000	at	17	0	...	850	0	...	7780 5
21st	1000	at	18	0	...	900	0	...	8680 5
22d	1000	at	19	0	...	950	0	...	9630 5
23d	1000	at	20	0	...	1000	0	...	10630 5

At the twenty-third thousand the tax becomes twenty shillings in the pound, and consequently every thousand beyond that sum can produce no profit but by dividing the estate. Yet formidable as this tax appears, it will not, I believe, produce so much as the commutation tax; should it produce more, it ought to be lowered to that amount upon estates under two or three thousand a year.

On small and middling estates it is lighter (as it is intended to be) than the commutation tax. It is not till after seven or eight thousand a year that it begins to be heavy. The object is not so much the produce of the tax, as the justice of the measure. The aristocracy has screened itself too much, and this serves to restore a part of the lost equilibrium.

As an instance of its screening itself, it is only necessary to look back to the first establishment of the excise laws, at what is called the Restoration, or the coming of Charles the Second. The aristocratical interest then in power, commuted the feudal services itself was under by laying a tax on beer brewed for *sale*; that is, they compounded with Charles for an exemption from those services for themselves and their heirs, by a tax to be paid by other people. The aristocracy do not purchase beer brewed for sale, but brew their own beer free of the duty, and if any commutation at that time were necessary, it ought to have been at the expense of those for whom the exemptions from those services were intended;* instead of which it was thrown on an entire different class of men.

But the chief object of this progressive tax (besides the justice of rendering taxes more equal than they are) is, as

* The tax on beer brewed for sale, from which the aristocracy are exempt, is almost one million more than the present commutation tax, being by the returns of 1788, £.1,666,152 and consequently they ought to take on themselves the amount of the commutation tax, as they are already exempted from one which is almost one million greater.

already stated, to extirpate the overgrown influence arising from the unnatural law of primogeniture, and which is one of the principal sources of corruption at elections.

It would be attended with no good consequences to enquire how such vast estates as thirty, forty, or fifty thousand a year could commence, and that at a time when commerce and manufactures were not in a state to admit of such acquisitions. Let it be sufficient to remedy the evil by putting them in a condition of descending again to the community, by the quiet means of apportioning them among all the heirs and heiresses of those families. This will be the more necessary, because hitherto the aristocracy have quartered their young children and connections upon the public in useless posts, places, and offices, which, when abolished, will leave them destitute, unless the law of primogeniture be also abolished or superseded.

A progressive tax will, in a great measure, effect this object, and that as a matter of interest to the parties most immediately concerned, as will be seen by the following table; which shews the nett produce upon every estate, after subtracting the tax. By this it will appear, that after an estate exceeds thirteen or fourteen thousand a year, the remainder produces but little profit to the holder, and consequently will pass either to the younger children, or to other kindred.

TABLE III.

Shewing the nett produce of every estate from one thousand to twenty-three thousand pounds a year.

No. of Thousands per ann. £.	Total Tax subtracted. £.	Nett Produce. £.
1,000	21	979
2,000	59	1,941
3,000	109	2,891
4,000	184	3,816
5,000	284	4,716
6,000	434	5,566
7,000	634	6,366
8,000	880	7,120
9,000	1,180	7,820
10,000	1,530	8,470
11,000	1,930	9,070
12,000	2,380	9,620
13,000	2,884	10,120

£.	£.	£.
14,000	3,430	10,570
15,000	4,030	10,970
16,000	4,680	11,320
17,000	5,380	11,620
18,000	6,130	11,870
19,000	6,930	12,070
20,000	7,780	12,220
21,000	8,680	12,320
22,000	9,630	12,270
23,000	10,630	12,370

N. B. The odd shillings are dropped in this table.

According to this table, an estate cannot produce more than £12,370 clear of the land tax and the progressive tax, and therefore the dividing such estates will follow as a matter of family interest. An estate of £.23,000 a year, divided into five estates of four thousand each, and one of three, will be charged only £.1129 which is but five per cent. but if held by one possessor will be charged £.10,630.

Although an inquiry into the origin of those estates be unnecessary, the continuation of them in their present state is another subject. It is a matter of national concern. As hereditary estates, the law has created the evil, and it ought also to provide the remedy. Primogeniture ought to be abolished, not only because it is unnatural and unjust, but because the country suffers by its operation. By cutting off (as before observed) the younger children from their proper portion of inheritance, the public is loaded with the expence of maintaining them; and the freedom of elections violated by the overbearing influence which this unjust monopoly of family property produces. Nor is this all. It occasions a waste of national property. A considerable part of the land of the country is rendered unproductive by the great extent of parks and chases which this law serves to keep up, and this at a time when the annual production of grain is not equal to the national consumption.* In short, the evils of the aristocratical system are so great and numerous, so inconsistent with every thing that is just, wise, natural, and beneficent, that when they are considered, there ought not to be a doubt that many, who are now classed under that description, will wish to see such a system abolished.

* See the reports on the corn trade.

What pleasure can they derive from contemplating the exposed condition, and almost certain beggary of their younger offspring? Every aristocratical family has an appendage of family beggars hanging round it, which in a few ages, or a few generations, are shook off, and console themselves with telling their tale in alms-houses, work-houses, and prisons. This is the natural consequence of aristocracy. The peer and the beggar are often of the same family. One extreme produces the other: to make one rich many must be made poor; neither can the system be supported by other means.

There are two classes of people to whom the laws of England are particularly hostile, and those the most helpless; younger children and the poor. Of the former I have just spoken; of the latter I shall mention one instance out of the many that might be produced, and with which I shall close this subject.

Several laws are in existence for regulating and limiting workmen's wages. Why not leave them as free to make their own bargains, as the law-makers are to let their farms and houses? Personal labour is all the property they have. Why is that little, and the little freedom they enjoy to be infringed? But the injustice will appear stronger, if we consider the operation and effect of such laws. When wages are fixed by what is called a law, the legal wages remain stationary, while every thing else is in progression; and as those who make that law, still continue to lay on new taxes by other laws, they encrease the expence of living by one law, and take away the means by another

But if those gentleman law-makers and tax-makers thought it right to limit the poor pittance which personal labour can produce, and on which a whole family is to be supported, they certainly must feel themselves happily indulged in a limitation on their own part, of not less than twelve thousand a year, and that of property they never acquired, (nor probably any of their ancestors) and of which they have made so ill a use.

Having now finished this subject, I shall bring the several particulars into one view, and then proceed to other matters.

The first EIGHT ARTICLES are brought forward from pages 97 and 98.

1. Abolition of two millions of poor-rates.
2. Provision for two hundred and fifty-two thousand poor

families, at the rate of four pounds per head for each child under fourteen years of age; which, with the addition of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, provides also education for one million and thirty thousand children.

3. Annuity of six pounds (per ann.) each, for all poor persons, decayed tradesmen, or others (supposed seventy thousand) of the age of fifty years, and until sixty.

4. Annuity of ten pounds each for life for all poor persons, decayed tradesmen, and others (supposed seventy thousand) of the age of sixty years.

5. Donation of twenty shillings each for fifty thousand births.

6. Donation of twenty shillings each for twenty thousand marriages.

7. Allowance of twenty thousand pounds for the funeral expences of persons travelling for work, and dying at a distance from their friends.

8. Employment at all times for the casual poor in the cities of London and Westminster.

SECOND ENUMERATION.

9. Abolition of the tax on houses and windows.

10. Allowance of three shillings per week for life to fifteen thousand disbanded soldiers, and a proportionable allowance to the officers of the disbanded corps.

Increase of pay to the remaining soldiers of £.19,500 annually.

12. The same allowance to the disbanded navy, and the same increase of pay, as to the army.

13. Abolition of the commutation tax.

14. Plan of a progressive tax, operating to extirpate the unjust and unnatural law of primogeniture, and the vicious influence of the aristocratical system.*

* When enquiries are made into the condition of the poor, various degrees of distress will most probably be found, to render a different arrangement preferable to that which is already proposed. Widows with families will be in greater want than where there are husbands living. There is also a difference in the expence of living in different counties; and more so in fuel.

Suppose, then, fifty thousand extraordinary cases, at

the rate of £.10 per family per ann.	£.500,000
100,000 families at £.8 per family per ann.	800,000
100,000 families at £.7 per family per ann.	700,000

Carried over 2,000,000

There yet remains, as already stated, one million of surplus taxes. Some part of this will be required for circumstances that do not immediately present themselves, and such part as shall not be wanted, will admit a further reduction of taxes equal to that amount.

Among the claims that justice requires to be made, the condition of the inferior revenue officers will merit attention. It is a reproach to any Government to waste such an immensity of revenue in sinecures and nominal and unnecessary places and offices, and not allow even a decent livelihood to those on whom the labour falls. The salary of the inferior officers of the revenue has stood at the petty pittance of less than fifty pounds a year for upwards of one hundred years. It ought to be seventy. About one hundred and twenty thousand pounds applied to this purpose, will put all those salaries in a decent condition.

This was proposed to be done almost twenty years ago, but the treasury-board then in being startled at it, as it might lead to similar expectations from the army and navy, and the event was, that the King, or somebody for him, applied to Parliament to have his own salary raised an hundred thousand a year, which being done, every thing else was laid aside.

With respect to another class of men, the inferior clergy, I forbear to enlarge on their condition; but all partialities and prejudices for or against different modes and forms of religion aside, common justice will determine, whether there ought to be an income of twenty or thirty pounds a year to one man, and of ten thousand to another. I speak on this subject with the more freedom, because I am known not to

Brought over	£.2,000,000
104,000 families, at £.5 per family, per ann.	520,000
And instead of ten shillings per head for the education of other children, to allow fifty shillings per family for that purpose to fifty thousand families	250,000
	<hr/>
	2,770,000
140,000 Aged persons as before	1,120,000
	<hr/>
	3,890,000
	<hr/>

This arrangement amounts to the same sum as stated in page 93, including the £.250,000 for education; but it provides (including the aged people) for four hundred and four thousand families, which is almost one third of all the families in England.

be a Presbyterian ; and therefore the cant cry of court sycophants, about church and meeting, kept up to amuse and bewilder the nation, cannot be raised against me.

Ye simple men, on both sides the question, do ye not see through this courtly craft ? If ye can be kept disputing and wrangling about church and meeting, ye just answer the purpose of every courtier, who lives the while on the spoil of the taxes, and laughs at your credulity. Every religion is good that teaches man to be good ; and I know of none that instructs him to be bad.

All the before-mentioned calculations, suppose only sixteen millions and an half taxes paid into the Exchequer, after the expence of collection and drawbacks at the Custom-house and Excise-office are deducted ; whereas the sum paid into the Exchequer is very nearly, if not quite, seventeen millions. The taxes raised in Scotland and Ireland are expended in those countries, and therefore their savings will come out of their own taxes ; but if any part be paid into the English Exchequer, it might be remitted. This will not make one hundred thousand pounds a year difference.

There now remains only the national debt to be considered. In the year 1789, the interest, exclusive of the tontine, was £.9,150,138. How much the capital has been reduced since that time, the minister best knows. But after paying the interest, abolishing the tax on houses and windows, the commutation tax, and the poor-rates ; and making all the provisions for the poor, for the education of children, the support of the aged, the disbanded part of the army and navy, and increasing the pay of the remainder, there will be a surplus of one million.

The present scheme of paying off the national debt appears to me, speaking as an indifferent person, to be an ill-concerted, if not a fallacious job. The burthen of the national debt consists not in its being so many millions, or so many hundred millions, but in the quantity of taxes collected every year to pay the interest. If this quantity continue the same, the burthen of the national debt is the same to all intents and purposes, be the capital more or less. The only knowledge which the public can have of the reduction of the debt, must be through the reduction of taxes for paying the interest. The debt, therefore, is not reduced one farthing to the public by all the millions that have been paid ; and it would require more money now to purchase up the capital, than when the scheme began.

Digressing for a moment at this point, to which I shall re-

turn again, I look back to the appointment of Mr. Pitt, as minister.

I was then in America. The war was over; and though resentment had ceased, memory was still alive.

When the news of the coalition arrived, though it was a matter of no concern to me as a citizen of America, I felt it as a man. It had something in it which shocked, by publicly sporting with decency, if not with principle. It was impudence in Lord North; it was want of firmness in Mr. Fox.

Mr. Pitt was, at that time, what may be called a maiden character in politics. So far from being hackneyed, he appeared not to be initiated into the first mysteries of court intrigue. Every thing was in his favour. Resentment against the coalition served as friendship to him, and his ignorance of vice was credited for virtue. With the return of peace, commerce and prosperity would rise of itself; yet even this increase was thrown to his account.

When he came to the helm the storm was over, and he had nothing to interrupt his course. It required even ingenuity to be wrong, and he succeeded. A little time shewed him the same sort of man as his predecessors had been. Instead of profiting by those errors which had accumulated a burthen of taxes unparalleled in the world, he sought, I might almost say, he advertised for enemies, and provoked means to increase taxation. Aiming at something, he knew not what, he ransacked Europe and India for adventures, and abandoning the fair pretensions he began with, became the knight-errant of modern times.

It is unpleasant to see character throw itself away. It is more so to see one's self deceived. Mr. Pitt had merited nothing, but he promised much. He gave symptoms of a mind superior to the meanness and corruption of courts. His apparent candour encouraged expectations; and the public confidence, stunned, wearied, and confounded by a chaos of parties, revived and attached itself to him. But mistaking, as he has done, the disgust of the nation against the coalition, for merit in himself, he has rushed into measures, which a man less supported would not have presumed to act.

All this seems to shew that change of ministers amounts to nothing. One goes out, another comes in, and still the same measures, vices, and extravagance are pursued. It signifies not who is minister. The defect lies in the system. The foundation and the superstructure of the Government

is bad. Prop it as you please, it continually sinks into Court Government, and ever will.

I return, as I promised, to the subject of the national debt, that offspring of the Dutch-Anglo Revolution, and its handmaid the Hanover succession.

But it is now too late to inquire how it began. Those to whom it is due have advanced the money; and whether it was well or ill spent, or pocketed, is not their crime. It is, however, easy to see, that as the nation proceeds in contemplating the nature and principles of Government, and to understand taxes, and make comparisons between those of America, France, and England, it will be next to impossible to keep it in the same torpid state it has hitherto been. Some reform must, from the necessity of the case, soon begin. It is not whether these principles press with little or much force in the present moment. They are out. They are abroad in the world, and no force can stop them. Like a secret told, they are beyond recall; and he must be blind indeed that does not see that a change is already beginning.

Nine millions of dead taxes is a serious thing; and this not only for bad, but in great measure for foreign Government. By putting the power of making war into the hands of foreigners who came for what they could get, little else was to be expected than what has happened.

Reasons are already advanced in this work shewing that whatever the reforms in the taxes may be, they ought to be made in the current expences of Government, and not in the part applied to the interest of the national debt. By remitting the taxes of the poor, *they* will be totally relieved, and all discontent on their part will be taken away; and by striking off such of the taxes as are already mentioned, the nation will more than recover the whole expence of the mad American war.

There will then remain only the national debt as a subject of discontent; and in order to remove, or rather to prevent this, it would be good policy in the stock-holders themselves to consider it as property, subject, like all other property, to bear some portion of the taxes. It would give to it both popularity and security, and as a great part of its present inconvenience is balanced by the capital which it keeps alive, a measure of this kind would so far add to that balance as to silence objections.

This may be done by such gradual means as to accomplish all that is necessary with the greatest ease and convenience.

Instead of taxing the capital, the best method would be to tax the interest by some progressive ratio, and to lessen the public taxes in the same proportion as the interest diminished.

Suppose the interest was taxed one halfpenny in the pound the first year, a penny more the second, and to proceed by a certain ratio to be determined upon, always less than any other tax upon property. Such a tax would be subtracted from the interest at the time of payment, without any expence of collection.

One halfpenny in the pound would lessen the interest, and consequently the taxes twenty thousand pounds. The tax on waggons amounts to this sum, and this tax might be taken off the first year. The second year the tax on female servants, or some other of the like amount might also be taken off, and by proceeding in this manner, always applying the tax raised from the property of the debt towards its extinction, and not carry it to the current services, it would liberate itself.

The stock-holders, notwithstanding this tax, would pay less taxes than they do now. What they would save by the extinction of the poor-rates, and the tax on houses and windows, and the commutation tax, would be considerably greater than what this tax, slow, but certain in its operation, amounts to.

It appears to me to be prudence to look out for measures that may apply under any circumstances that may approach. There is, at this moment, a crisis in the affairs of Europe that requires it. Preparation now is wisdom. If taxation be once let loose, it will be difficult to reinstate it; neither would the relief be so effectual, as to proceed by some certain and gradual reduction.

The fraud, hypocrisy, and imposition of Government, are now beginning to be too well understood to promise them any long career. The farce of monarchy and aristocracy, in all countries, is following that of chivalry, and Mr. Burke is dressing for the funeral. Let it then pass quietly to the tomb of all other follies, and the mourners be comforted.

The time is not very distant when England will laugh at itself for sending to Holland, Hanover, Zell, or Brunswick for men, at the expence of a million a year, who understood neither her laws, her language, nor her interest, and whose capacities would scarcely have fitted them for the office of a parish constable. If Government could be trusted to such hands, it must be some easy and simple thing indeed, and

materials fit for all the purposes may be found in every town and village in England.

When it shall be said in any country in the world, "My poor are happy; neither ignorance nor distress is to be found among them; my jails are empty of prisoners, my streets of beggars; the aged are not in want, the taxes are not oppressive; the rational world is my friend, because I am the friend of its happiness." When these things can be said, then may that country boast its Constitution and its Government.

Within the space of a few years we have seen two Revolutions, those of America and France. In the former, the contest was long, and the conflict severe; in the latter, the nation acted with such a consolidated impulse, that having no foreign enemy to contend with, the Revolution was complete in power the moment it appeared. From both those instances it is evident, that the greatest forces that can be brought into the field of Revolutions, are reason and common interest. Where these can have the opportunity of acting, opposition dies with fear, or crumbles away by conviction. It is a great standing which they have now universally obtained; and we may hereafter hope to see Revolutions, or changes in Governments, produced with the same quiet operation by which any measure, determinable by reason and discussion, is accomplished.

When a nation changes its opinion and habits of thinking, it is no longer to be governed as before; but it would not only be wrong, but bad policy, to attempt by force what ought to be accomplished by reason. Rebellion consists in forcibly opposing the general will of a nation, whether by a party or by a Government. There ought, therefore, to be in every nation a method of occasionally ascertaining the state of public opinion with respect to Government. On this point the old Government of France was superior to the present Government of England, because, on extraordinary occasions, recourse could be had to what was then called the States-General. But in England there are no such occasional bodies; and as to those who are now called representatives, a great part of them are mere machines of court, placemen, and dependants.

I presume, that though all the People of England pay taxes, not an hundredth part of them are electors, and the members of one of the Houses of Parliament represent nobody but themselves. There is, therefore, no power but the voluntary will of the People that has a right to act in any matter respecting a general reform; and by the same

right that two persons can confer on such a subject a thousand may. The object, in all such preliminary proceedings, is to find out what the general sense of a nation is, and to be governed by it. If it prefer a bad or defective Government to a reform, or choose to pay ten times more taxes than there is occasion for, it has a right so to do; and so long as the majority do not impose conditions on the minority, different to what they impose on themselves, though there may be much error, there is no injustice. Neither will the error continue long. Reason and discussion will soon bring things right, however wrong they may begin. By such a process no tumult is to be apprehended. The poor, in all countries, are naturally both peaceable and grateful in all reforms in which their interest and happiness are included. It is only by neglecting and rejecting them that they become tumultuous.

The objects that now press on the public attention are the French Revolution, and the prospect of a general Revolution in Governments. Of all nations in Europe, there is none so much interested in the French Revolution as England. Enemies for ages, and that at a vast expence, and without any national object, the opportunity now presents itself of amicably closing the scene, and joining their efforts to reform the rest of Europe. By doing this, they will not only prevent the further effusion of blood, and increase of taxes, but be in a condition of getting rid of a considerable part of their present burthens, as has been already stated. Long experience, however, has shewn that reforms of this kind are not those which old Governments wish to promote; and therefore it is to nations, and not to such Governments, that these matters present themselves.

In the preceding part of this work I have spoken of an alliance between England, France, and America, for the purposes that were to be afterwards mentioned. Though I have no direct authority on the part of America, I have good reason to conclude, that she is disposed to enter into a consideration of such a measure, provided, that the Governments with which she might ally, acted as national Governments, and not as Courts enveloped in intrigue and mystery. That France as a nation, and a national Government, would prefer an alliance with England, is a matter of certainty. Nations, like individuals, who have long been enemies, without knowing each other, or knowing why, become the better friends when they discover the errors and impositions under which they had acted.

Admitting, therefore, the probability of such a connec-

tion, I will state some matters by which such an alliance, together with that of Holland, might render service, not only to the parties immediately concerned, but to all Europe.

It is, I think, certain, that if the fleets of England, France, and Holland were confederated, they could propose, with effect, a limitation to, and a general dismantling of, all the navies in Europe, to a certain proportion to be agreed upon.

First, That no new ship of war shall be built by any power in Europe, themselves included.

Secondly, That all the navies now in existence shall be put back, suppose to one-tenth of their present force. This will save France and England at least two millions sterling annually to each, and their relative force be in the same proportion as it is now. If men will permit themselves to think, as rational beings ought to think, nothing can appear more ridiculous and absurd, exclusive of all moral reflections, than to be at the expence of building navies, filling them with men, and then hauling them into the ocean, to try which can sink each other fastest. Peace, which costs nothing, is attended with infinitely more advantage, than any victory with all its expence. But this, though it best answers the purpose of nations, does not that of Court Governments, whose habited policy is pretence for taxation, places, and offices.

It is, I think, also certain, that the above confederated powers, together with that of the United States of America, can propose with effect, to Spain, the Independence of South America, and the opening those countries of immense extent and wealth to the general commerce of the world, as North America now is.

With how much more glory, and advantage to itself, does a nation act, when it exerts its powers to rescue the world from bondage, and to create itself friends, than when it employs those powers to encrease ruin, desolation, and misery. The horrid scene that is now acting by the English Government in the East Indies, is fit only to be told of Goths and Vandals, who, destitute of principle, robbed and tortured the world they were incapable of enjoying.

The opening of South America would produce an immense field of commerce, and a ready money market for manufactures, which the eastern world does not. The East is already a country full of manufactures, the importation of which is not only an injury to the manufactures of England, but a drain upon its specie. The balance against England by this trade is regularly upwards of half a million annually sent out in the East India ships in silver; and this is the

reason, together with German intrigue, and German subsidies, there is so little silver in England.

But any war is harvest to such Governments, however ruinous it may be to a nation. It serves to keep up deceitful expectations, which prevent a people looking into the defects and abuses of Government. It is the *lo, here!* and the *lo, there!* that amuses and cheats the multitude.

Never did so great an opportunity offer itself to England, and to all Europe, as is produced by the two revolutions of America and France. By the former, freedom has a national champion in the Western world; and by the latter, in Europe. When another nation shall join France, despotism and bad Government will scarcely dare to appear. To use a trite expression, the iron is becoming hot all over Europe. The insulted German and the enslaved Spaniard, the Russ and the Pole, are beginning to think. The present age will hereafter merit to be called the Age of Reason, and the present generation will appear to the future as the Adam of a new world.

When all the Governments of Europe shall be established on the Representative system, nations will become acquainted, and the animosities and prejudices fomented by the intrigue and artifice of courts, will cease. The oppressed soldier will become a freeman; and the tortured sailor, no longer dragged along the streets like a felon, will pursue his mercantile voyage in safety. It would be better that nations should continue the pay of their soldiers during their lives, and give them their discharge, and restore them to freedom and their friends, and cease recruiting, than retain such multitudes at the same expence, in a condition useless to society and themselves. As soldiers have hitherto been treated in most countries, they might be said to be without a friend. Shunned by the citizen on an apprehension of being enemies to liberty, and too often insulted by those who commanded them, their condition was a double oppression. But where genuine principles of liberty pervade a people, every thing is restored to order; and the soldier civilly treated, returns the civility.

In contemplating revolutions, it is easy to perceive that they may arise from two distinct causes; the one, to avoid or get rid of some great calamity; the other, to obtain some great and positive good; and the two may be distinguished by the names of active and passive Revolutions. In those which proceed from the former cause, the temper becomes incensed and soured; and the redress, obtained by danger, is too often sullied by revenge. But in those which proceed

from the latter, the heart, rather animated than agitated, enters serenely upon the subject. Reason and discussion, persuasion and conviction, become the weapons in the contest, and it is only when those are attempted to be suppressed that recourse is had to violence. When men unite in agreeing that a *thing is good*, could it be obtained, such as relief from a burthen of taxes, and the extinction of corruption, the object is more than half accomplished. What they approve as the end, they will promote in the means.

Will any man say, in the present excess of taxation, falling so heavily on the poor, that a remission of five pounds annually of taxes to one hundred and four thousand poor families is not a *good thing*? Will he say, that a remission of seven pounds annually to one hundred thousand other poor families—of eight pounds annually to another hundred thousand poor families, and of ten pounds annually to fifty thousand poor and widowed families, are not *good things*? And to proceed a step farther in this climax, will he say, that to provide against the misfortunes to which all human life is subject, by securing six pounds annually for all poor, distressed, and reduced persons of the age of fifty and until sixty, and of ten pounds annually after sixty, is not a *good thing*?

Will he say, that an abolition of two millions of poor rates to the housekeepers, and of the whole of the house and window-light tax, and of the commutation-tax, is not a *good thing*? Or will he say, that to abolish corruption is a *bad thing*?

If, therefore, the good to be obtained be worthy of a passive, rational, and costless Revolution, it would be bad policy to prefer waiting for a calamity that should force a violent one. I have no idea, considering the Reforms which are now passing and spreading throughout Europe, that England will permit herself to be the last; and where the occasion and the opportunity quietly offer, it is better than to wait for a turbulent necessity. It may be considered as an honour to the animal faculties of man to obtain redress by courage and danger, but it is far greater honour to the rational faculties to accomplish the same object by reason, accommodation, and general consent.*

* I know it is the opinion of many of the most enlightened characters in France (there always will be those who see farther into events than others) not only among the general mass of citizens, but of many of the principal members of the former National

As Reforms, or Revolutions, call them which you please, extend themselves among nations, those nations will form connections and conventions, and when a few are thus confederated, the progress will be rapid, till despotism and corrupt Government be totally expelled, at least out of two quarters of the world, Europe and America. The Algerine piracy may then be commanded to cease, for it is only by the malicious policy of old Governments against each other that it exists.

Throughout this work, various and numerous as the subjects are, which I have taken up and investigated, there is only a single paragraph upon religion, viz. "*that every religion is good, that teaches man to be good.*"

I have carefully avoided to enlarge upon the subject, because I am inclined to believe, that what is called the present ministry wish to see contentions about religion kept up, to prevent the nation turning its attention to subjects of Government. It is, as if they were to say, "*Look that way, or any way but this.*"

But as religion is very improperly made a political machine, and the reality of it is thereby destroyed, I will conclude this work with stating in what light religion appears to me.

If we suppose a large family of children, who, on any particular day, or particular circumstance, made it a custom to present to their parent some token of their affection and gratitude, each of them would make a different offering, and most probably in a different manner. Some would pay their congratulations in themes of verse or prose, by some

Assembly, that the monarchical plan will not continue many years in that country. They have found out, that as wisdom cannot be made hereditary, power ought not; and that, for a man to merit a million sterling a year from a nation, he ought to have a mind capable of comprehending from an atom to a universe; which, if he had, he would be above receiving the pay. But they wished not to appear to lead the nation faster than its own reason and interest dictated. In all the conversations where I have been present upon this subject, the idea always was, that when such a time, from the general opinion of the nation, shall arrive, that the honourable and liberal method would be, to make a handsome present in fee simple to the person, whoever he may be, that shall then be in the monarchical office, and for him to retire to the enjoyment of private life, possessing his share of general rights and privileges, and to be no more accountable to the public for his time and his conduct than any other citizen.

little devices, as their genius dictated, according to what they thought would please; and, perhaps, the least of all, not able to do any of those things, would ramble into the garden, or the field, and gather what it thought the prettiest flower it could find, though, perhaps, it might be but a simple weed. The parent would be more gratified by such variety, than if the whole had acted on a concerted plan, and each had made exactly the same offering. This would have the cold appearance of contrivance, or the harsh one of controul. But of all unwelcome things, nothing could more afflict the parent than to know, that the whole of them had afterwards gotten together by the ears, boys and girls, fighting, scratching, reviling, and abusing each other, about which was the best or the worst present.

Why may we not suppose, that the great Father of all is pleased with variety of devotion; and that the greatest offence we can act, is that by which we seek to torment and render each other miserable. For my own part, I am fully satisfied that what I am now doing, with an endeavour to conciliate mankind, to render their condition happy, to unite nations that have hitherto been enemies, and to extirpate the horrid practice of war, and break the chains of slavery and oppression, is acceptable in His sight, and being the best I can perform, I act it cheerfully.

I do not believe that any two men, on what are called doctrinal points, think alike who think at all. It is only those who have not thought, that appear to agree. It is in this case as with what is called the British Constitution. It has been taken for granted to be good, and encomiums have supplied the place of proof. But when the nation comes to examine into its principles and the abuses it admits, it will be found to have more defects than I have pointed out in this work and the former.

As to what are called national religions, we may, with as much propriety talk of national gods. It is either political craft, or the remains of the Pagan system, when every nation had its separate and particular deity. Among all the writers of the English Church clergy, who have treated on the general subject of religion, the present Bishop of Landaff has not been excelled, and it is with much pleasure that I take the opportunity of expressing this token of respect.

I have now gone through the whole of the subject, at least, as far as it appears to me at present. It has been my intention for the five years I have been in Europe, to offer an address to the People of England on the subject of

Government, if the opportunity presented itself before I returned to America. Mr. Burke has thrown it in my way, and I thank him. On a certain occasion three years ago, I pressed him to propose a National Convention to be fairly elected, for the purpose of taking the state of the nation into consideration; but I found, that however strongly the Parliamentary current was then setting against the Party he acted with, their policy was to keep every thing within that field of corruption, and trust to accidents. Long experience had shewn that Parliaments would follow any change of ministers, and on this they rested their hopes and their expectations.

Formerly, when divisions arose respecting Governments, recourse was had to the sword, and a civil war ensued. That savage custom is exploded by the new system, and reference is had to National Convention. Discussion and the general will arbitrates the question, and to this, private opinion yields with a good grace, and order is preserved uninterrupted.

Some gentlemen have affected to call the principles upon which this work and the former part of *Rights of Man* are founded, "a new fangled doctrine." The question is not whether these principles are new or old, but whether they are right or wrong. Suppose the former, I will shew their effect by a figure easily understood.

It is now towards the middle of February. Were I to take a turn into the country, the trees would present a leafless wintery appearance. As people are apt to pluck twigs as they go along, I might do the same, and by chance might observe, that a *single bud* on that twig had begun to swell. I should reason very unnaturally, or rather not reason at all, to suppose *this* was the *only* bud in England which had this appearance. Instead of deciding thus, I should instantly conclude, that the same appearance was beginning, or about to begin, every where; and though the vegetable sleep will continue longer on some trees and plants than on others, and though some of them may not *blossom* for two or three years, all will be in leaf in the summer, except those which are *rotten*. What pace the political summer may keep with the natural, no human foresight can determine. It is however, not difficult to perceive that the spring is begun. Thus wishing, as I sincerely do, freedom and happiness to all nations, I close the SECOND PART.

APPENDIX.

As the publication of this work has been delayed beyond the time intended, I think it not improper, all circumstances considered, to state the causes that have occasioned the delay.

The reader will probably observe, that some parts in the plan contained in this work for reducing the taxes, and certain parts in Mr. Pitt's speech at the opening of the present session, Tuesday, January 31, are so much alike, as to induce a belief that either the Author had taken the hint from Mr. Pitt, or Mr. Pitt from the Author. I will first point out the parts that are similar, and then state such circumstances as I am acquainted with, leaving the reader to make his own conclusion.

Considering it almost an unprecedented case, that taxes should be proposed to be taken off, it is equally as extraordinary that such a measure should occur to two persons at the same time; and still more so, (considering the vast variety and multiplicity of taxes) that they should hit on the same specific taxes. Mr. Pitt has mentioned, in his speech, the tax on *Carts* and *Waggons*—that on *Female Servants*—the lowering the tax on *Candles*, and the taking off the tax of three shillings on *Houses* having under seven windows.

Every one of those specific taxes are a part of the plan contained in this work, and proposed also to be taken off. Mr. Pitt's plan, it is true, goes no farther than to a reduction of three hundred and twenty thousand pounds; and the reduction proposed in this work to nearly six millions. I have made my calculations on only sixteen millions and a half of revenue, still asserting that it was "very nearly, if not quite, seventeen millions." Mr. Pitt states it at 16,690,000. I know enough of the matter to say, that he has not *overstated* it. Having thus given the particulars, which correspond in this work and his speech, I will state a chain of circumstances that may lead to some explanation.

The first hint for lessening the taxes, and that as a consequence flowing from the French Revolution, is to be found in the ADDRESS and DECLARATION of the Gentlemen who met at the Thatched-House Tavern, August 20,

1791. Among other particulars stated in that Address, is the following, put as an interrogation to the Government opposers of the French Revolution. "*Are they sorry that the pretence for new oppressive taxes, and the occasion for continuing many old taxes will be at an end?*"

It is well known, that the persons who chiefly frequent the Thatched-House Tavern, are men of Court connections, and so much did they take this Address and Declaration respecting the French Revolution and the reduction of taxes in disgust, that the Landlord was under the necessity of informing the Gentlemen, who composed the meeting of the twentieth of August, and who proposed holding another meeting, that he could not receive them*.

What was only hinted at in the Address and Declaration, respecting taxes and principles of Government, will be found reduced to a regular system in this work. But as Mr. Pitt's speech contains some of the same things respecting taxes, I now come to give the circumstances before alluded to.

The case is: This work was intended to be published just before the meeting of Parliament, and for that purpose a considerable part of the copy was put into the printer's hands in September, and all the remaining copy, so far as page 160,† which contains the parts to which Mr. Pitt's speech is similar, was given to him full six weeks before the meeting of Parliament, and he was informed of the time

* The gentleman who signed the address and declaration as chairman of the meeting, Mr. Horne Tooke, being generally supposed to be the person who drew it up, and having spoken much in commendation of it, has been jocularly accused of praising his own work. To free him from this embarrassment, and to save him the repeated trouble of mentioning the author, as he has not failed to do, I make no hesitation in saying, that as the opportunity of benefiting by the French Revolution easily occurred to me, I drew up the publication in question, and shewed it to him and some other gentlemen; who fully approving it, held a meeting for the purpose of making it public, and subscribed to the amount of fifty guineas to defray the expence of advertising. I believe there are at this time, in England, a greater number of men acting on disinterested principles, and determined to look into the nature and practices of Government themselves, and not blindly trust, as has hitherto been the case either to Government generally, or to Parliaments, or to Parliamentary opposition, than to any former period. Had this been done a century ago, corruption and taxation had not arrived to the height they are now at.

† This refers to the original octavo edition.

at which it was to appear. He had composed nearly the whole about a fortnight before the time of Parliament meeting, and had printed as far as page 112, and had given me a proof of the next sheet, up to page 128. It was then in sufficient forwardness to be out at the time proposed, as two other sheets were ready for striking off. I had before told him, that if he thought he should be straightened for time, I would get part of the work done at another press, which he desired me not to do. In this manner the work stood on the Tuesday fortnight preceding the meeting of Parliament, when all at once, without any previous intimation, though I had been with him the evening before, he sent me, by one of his workmen, all the remaining copy, from page 112, declining to go on with the work *on any consideration*.

To account for this extraordinary conduct I was totally at a loss, as he stopped at the part where the arguments on systems and principles of Governments closed, and where the plan for reduction of taxes, the education of children, and the support of the poor and the aged begins; and still more especially, as he had, at the time of his beginning to print, and before he had seen the whole copy, offered a thousand pounds for the copy-right, together with the future copy-right of the former part of Rights of Man. I told the person who brought me this offer that I should not accept it, and wished it not to be renewed, giving them as my reason, that though I believed the printer to be an honest man, I would never put it in the power of any printer or publisher to suppress or alter a work of mine, by making him master of the copy, or give him the right of selling it to any minister, or to any other person, or to treat as a mere matter of traffic, that which I intended should operate as a principle.

His refusal to complete the work (which he could not purchase) obliged me to seek for another printer, and this of consequence would throw the publication back till after the meeting of Parliament, otherwise it would have appeared that Mr. Pitt had only taken up a part of the plan which I had more fully stated.

Whether that gentleman, or any other, had seen the work, or any part of it, is more than I have authority to say. But the manner in which the work was returned, and the particular time at which this was done, and that after the offers he had made, are suspicious circumstances. I know what the opinion of booksellers and publishers is upon such a case, but as to my own, I choose to make no declaration. There are many ways by which proof sheets may be

procured by other persons before a work publicly appears ; to which I shall add a certain circumstance, which is,

A ministerial bookseller in Piccadilly, who has been employed, as common report says, by a clerk of one of the boards closely connected with the ministry (the Board of Trade and Plantation, of which Hawkesbury is President) to publish what he calls my *Life*, (I wish that his own life and the lives of all the Cabinet were as good) used to have his books printed at the same printing-office that I employed ; but when the former part of *Rights of Man* came out, he took away his work in dudgeon ; and about a week or ten days before the printer returned my copy, he came to make him an offer of his work again, which was accepted. This would consequently give him admission into the printing-office where the sheets of this work were then lying ; and as booksellers and printers are free with each other, he would have the opportunity of seeing what was going on. Be the case however as it may, Mr. Pitt's plan, little and diminutive as it is, would have had a very awkward appearance, had this work appeared at the time the printer had engaged to finish it.

I have now stated the particulars which occasioned the delay, from the proposal to purchase to the refusal to print. If all the gentlemen are innocent, it is very unfortunate for them that such a variety of suspicious circumstances should, without any design, arrange themselves together.

Having now finished this part, I will conclude with stating another circumstance.

About a fortnight or three weeks before the meeting of Parliament, a small addition, amounting to about twelve shillings and sixpence a year, was made to the pay of the soldiers, or rather, their pay was docked so much less. Some gentlemen who knew, in part, that this work would contain a plan of reform respecting the oppressed condition of soldiers, wished me to add a note to the work, signifying, that the part upon that subject had been in the printer's hands some weeks before that addition of pay was proposed. I declined doing this, lest it should be interpreted into an air of vanity, or an endeavour to excite suspicion (for which, perhaps, there might be no grounds) that some of the Government gentlemen, had, by some means or other, made out what this work would contain : and had not the printing been interrupted so as to occasion a delay beyond the time fixed for publication, nothing contained in this appendix would have appeared.

THOMAS PAINE.

A

LETTER

ADDRESSED TO

THE ADDRESSERS

ON THE

late Proclamation.

BY THOMAS PAINE.

London:

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY R. CARLILE, 55, FLEET STREET.

1819.

A

LETTER,

§c. §c.

COULD I have commanded circumstances with a wish, I know not of any that would have more generally promoted the progress of knowledge, than the late Proclamation, and the numerous rotten Borough and Corporation Addresses thereon. They have not only served as advertisements, but they have excited a spirit of enquiry into principles of Government, and a desire to read the RIGHTS OF MAN, in places where that spirit and that work were before unknown.

The people of England, wearied and stunned with parties, and alternately deceived by each, had almost resigned the prerogative of thinking. Even curiosity had expired, and a universal languor had spread itself over the land. The opposition was visibly no other than a contest for power, whilst the mass of the Nation stood torpidly by as the prize.

In this hopeless state of things, the First Part of RIGHTS OF MAN made its appearance. It had to combat with a strange mixture of prejudice and indifference; it stood exposed to every species of newspaper abuse; and besides this, it had to remove the obstructions which Mr. Burke's rude and outrageous attack on the French Revolution had artfully raised.

But how easily does even the most illiterate reader distinguish the spontaneous sensation of the heart, from the laboured productions of the brain! Truth, whenever it can fully appear, is a thing so naturally familiar to the mind, that an acquaintance commences at first sight. No artificial light, yet discovered, can display all the properties of daylight; so neither can the best invented fiction fill the mind with every conviction which truth begets.

To overthrow Mr. Burke's fallacious work was scarcely the operation of a day. Even the phalanx of Placemen and Pensioners, who had given the tone to the multitude, by clamouring forth his political fame, became suddenly silent; and the final event to himself has been, that as he rose like a rocket, he fell like the stick.

It seldom happens, that the mind rests satisfied with the simple detection of error or imposition.—Once put into motion, that motion soon becomes accelerated. Where it had intended to stop, it discovers new reasons to proceed, and renews and continues the pursuit far beyond the limits it first prescribed to itself.—Thus it has happened to the people of England. From a detection of Mr. Burke's incoherent rhapsodies, and distorted facts, they began an enquiry into first principles of Government, whilst himself, like an object left far behind, became invisible and forgotten.

Much as the First Part of RIGHTS OF MAN impressed at its first appearance, the progressive mind soon discovered that it did not go far enough. It detected errors; it exposed absurdities; it shook the fabric of political superstition; it generated new ideas; but it did not produce a regular system of principles in the room of those which it displaced. And, if I may guess at the mind of the Government-party, they beheld it as an unexpected gale that would soon blow over, and they forbore, like sailors in threatening weather, to whistle, lest they should increase the wind. Every thing, on their part, was profound silence.

When the Second Part of "RIGHTS OF MAN, *combining Principle and Practice,*" was preparing to appear, they affected for a while, to act with the same policy as before; but finding their silence had no more influence in stilling the progress of the work, than it would have in stopping the progress of time, they changed their plan, and affected to treat it with clamorous contempt. The Speech-making Placemen and Pensioners, and Place-expectants, in both Houses of Parliament, the *Outs* as well as the *Ins*, represented it as a silly, insignificant performance; as a work incapable of producing any effect; as something, which they were sure the good sense of the people would either despise or indignantly spurn; but such was the overstrained awkwardness with which they harangued and encouraged each other, that in the very act of declaring their confidence, they betrayed their fears.

As most of the rotten Borough Addressers are obscured in holes and corners throughout the country, and to whom a

newspaper arrives as rarely as an almanack, they most probably have not had the opportunity of knowing how this part of the farce (the original prelude to all the Addresses) has been acted. For their information, I will suspend awhile the more serious purpose of my Letter, and entertain them with two or three Speeches in the last Session of Parliament, which will serve them for politics till Parliament meets again.

You must know, Gentlemen, that the Second Part of RIGHTS OF MAN (the book against which you have been presenting Addresses, though, it is most probable, that many of you did not know it) was to have come out precisely at the time that Parliament last met. It happened not to be published till a few days after. But as it was very well known that the book would shortly appear, the Parliamentary Orators entered into a very cordial coalition to cry the book down, and they began their attack by crying up the *blessings* of the Constitution.

Had it been your fate to have been there, you could not but have been moved at the heart-and-pocket-felt congratulations that passed between all the parties on this subject of *blessings*; for the *Outs* enjoy places, and pensions, and sinecures, as well as the *Ins*, and are as devoutly attached to the firm of the house.

One of the most conspicuous of this motley groupe is the Clerk of the Court of King's Bench, who calls himself Lord Stormont. He is also called Justice-General of Scotland, and Keeper of Scoon (an opposition man) and he draws from the public for these nominal offices, not less, as I am informed, than six thousand pounds a year, and he is, most probably, at the trouble of counting the money, and signing a receipt, to shew, perhaps, that he is qualified to be Clerk, as well as Justice. He spoke as follows:*

“ THAT *we* shall *all* be unanimous, in expressing *our* attachment to the Constitution of these realms, *I am confident*. It is a subject upon which there can be *no* divided opinion in *this House*. I do not pretend to be deep read in the knowledge of the Constitution, but *I take upon me* to say, that from the extent of *my* knowledge (*for I have so many thousands a year for nothing*) it appears to *me*, that from the period of the Revolution, for it was by no means

* See his Speech in the Morning Chronicle of Feb. 1.

created then, it has been, both in *theory* and *practice*, the *wisest* system that ever was formed. I never was (he means he never was *till now*) a dealer in *political cant*. My life has not been occupied in *that way*, but the speculations of late years *seem to have taken a turn, for which I cannot account*. When I came into public life, the political pamphlets of the time, however they might be charged with the heat and violence of parties, were agreed in extolling the radical beauties of the Constitution itself. I remember (he means he has forgotten) a most captivating eulogium on its charms by Lord Bolingbroke, where he recommends his readers to contemplate it in all its aspects, with the assurance that it would be found more estimable the more it was *seen*. I do *not recollect* his precise words, but I wish that men who write upon these subjects would take *this for their model*, instead of the political pamphlets, which, I am told, are now in circulation, (such, I suppose, as *Rights of Man*)—pamphlets which I have *not read*, and whose purport I know only by *report*, (he means, perhaps, by the noise they make.) This, however, I am sure, that pamphlets tending to unsettle the public reverence for the *Constitution*, will have very little influence. They can do very little harm—for (*by the bye, he is no dealer in political cant*) *the English are a sober, thinking people, and are more intelligent, more solid, more steady in their opinions, than any people I ever had the fortune to see*. (This is pretty well laid on, though, for a new beginner). But if there should ever come a time when the propagation of those doctrines should agitate the public mind, I am *sure, for every one of your Lordships*, that no attack will be made on the Constitution, from which it is *truly said* that *we derive all our prosperity, without raising every one of your Lordships to its support*. It will then be found that there is no difference among *us*, but that *we are all determined to stand or fall together, in defence of the inestimable system*—of places and pensions.

After Stormont, on the opposition side, sat down, up rose *another noble Lord!* on the ministerial side, *Grenville*. This man ought to be as strong in the back as a mule, or the sire of a mule, or it would crack with the weight of places and offices. He rose, however, without feeling any incumbrance, full master of his weight! and thus said *this noble Lord to t'other noble Lord!*

“The patriotic and manly manner in which the noble Lord has declared his sentiments on the subject of the Con-

stitution, demands *my cordial* approbation. The noble Viscount has *proved*, that however we may differ on *particular measures*, amidst all the jars and dissonance of *parties*, we are unanimous in *principle*. There is a *perfect* and *entire consent* (between *us*) in the love and maintenance of the Constitution as *happily subsisting*. It must *undoubtedly* give your Lordships *concern*, to find, that the *time is come!* (heigh ho!) when there is *propriety* in these expressions of regard TO (o! o! o!) THE CONSTITUTION. And that there are men (con-found—their—po-li-tics) who disseminate doctrines *hostile* to the *genuine spirit* of our *well-balanced system* (it is certainly well-balanced when both sides hold places and pensions at once). I agree with the noble Viscount that they have not (I hope) *much success*. I am convinced that there is no danger to be apprehended from their attempts: but it is *truly* important and *consolatory* (to us placemen, I suppose) to know, that if there should ever arise a serious alarm, there is but *one spirit*, *one sense*, (and that sense I presume is not *common sense*) and one determination in this House;”—which undoubtedly is to hold all their places and pensions as long as they can.

Both these speeches (excepting the parts enclosed in parentheses, which are added for the purpose of *illustration*) are copied *verbatim* from the Morning Chronicle of the 1st of February last; and when the situation of the speakers is considered, the one in the opposition, and the other in the ministry, and both of them living at the public expence, by sinecure, or nominal places and offices, it required a very unblushing front to be able to deliver them. Can those men seriously suppose any Nation to be so completely blind as not to see through them? Can Stormont imagine that the *political cant*, with which he has larded his harangue, will conceal the craft? Does he not know that there never was a cover large enough to hide *itself*? Or can Grenville believe, that his credit with the public increases with his avarice for places?

But, if these orators will accept a service from me; in return for the allusions they have made to the *Rights of Man*, I will make a speech for either of them to deliver on the excellence of the Constitution, that shall be as much to the purpose as what they have spoken, or as *Bolingbroke's captivating encomium*. Here it is.

“ THAT we shall all be unanimous in expressing our attachment to the Constitution, I am confident. It is, my Lords, incomprehensibly good: but the great wonder of

all is the wisdom ; for it is, my Lords, *the wisest system that ever was formed.*

“ With respect to us noble Lords, though the world does not know it, it is very well known to us, that we have more wisdom than we know what to do with ; and what is still better, my Lords, we have it all in stock. I defy your Lordships to prove, that a tittle of it has been used as yet ; and if we do but go on, my Lords, with the frugality we have hitherto done, we shall leave to our heirs and successors, when we go out of the world, the whole stock of wisdom, *untouched*, that we brought in ; and there is no doubt but they will follow our example. This, my Lords, is one of the blessed effects of the hereditary system ; for we can never be without wisdom so long as we keep it by us, and do not use it.

“ But, my Lords, as all this wisdom is hereditary property, for the sole benefit of us and our heirs, and as it is necessary that the people should know where to get a supply for their own use, the excellence of our Constitution has provided a King for this very purpose, and for *no other.* But, my Lords, I perceive a defect to which the Constitution is subject, and which I propose to remedy by bringing a bill into Parliament for that purpose.

“ The Constitution, my Lords, out of delicacy, I presume, has left it as a matter of *choice* to a King whether he will be wise or not. It has not, I mean, my Lords, insisted upon it as a Constitutional point, which, I conceive, it ought to have done ; for I pledge myself to your Lordships to prove, and that with *true patriotic boldness*, that he has *no choice in the matter.* The bill, my Lords, that I shall bring in, will be to declare, that the Constitution, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, does not invest the King with this choice ; our ancestors were too wise to do that ; and, in order to prevent any doubts that might otherwise arise, I shall prepare, my Lords, an enacting clause, to fix the wisdom of Kings, by act of Parliament ; and then, my Lords, our Constitution will be the wonder of the world !

“ Wisdom, my Lords, is the one thing needful ; but that there may be no mistake in this matter, and that we may proceed consistently with the true wisdom of the Constitution, I shall propose a *certain criterion*, whereby the *exact quantity of wisdom* necessary for a King may be known. [Here should be a cry of Hear him ! Hear him !]

“ It is recorded, my Lords, in the Statutes at Large of the Jews, ‘ a book, my Lords, which I have not read, and whose purport I know only by report,’ *but perhaps the bench of Bishops can recollect something about it*, that Saul gave the most convincing proofs of royal wisdom before he was made a King, *for he was sent to seek his father’s asses, and he could not find them.*

“ Here, my Lords, we have, most happily for us, a case in point: this precedent ought to be established by act of Parliament; and every King, before he be crowned, should be sent to seek his father’s asses, and if he cannot find them, he shall be declared wise enough to be King, according to the true meaning of our excellent Constitution. All, therefore, my Lords, that will be necessary to be done, by the enacting clause that I shall bring in, will be to invest the King before-hand with the quantity of wisdom necessary for this purpose, lest he should happen not to possess it: and this, my Lords, we can do without making use of any of our own.

“ We further read, my Lords, in the said Statutes at Large of the Jews, that Samuel, who certainly was as mad as any Man-of-Rights-Man now-a-days, (*hear him! hear him!*) was highly displeased, and even exasperated, at the proposal of the Jews to have a King, and he warned them against it with all that assurance and impudence of which he was master. I have been, my Lords, at the trouble of going all the way to *Paternoster Row*, to procure an extract from the printed copy. I was told that I should meet with it there, or in *Amen Corner*, for I was then going, my Lords, to rummage for it among the curiosities of the *Antiquarian Society*. I will read the extract to your Lordships, to shew how little Samuel knew of the matter.

“ The extract, my Lords, is from 1 *Samuel*, chap. 8.

‘ And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people, that asked of him a King.

‘ And he said, this will be the manner of the King that shall reign over you: he will take your sons, and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen; and some shall run before his chariots.

‘ And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties, and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war and instruments of his chariots.

‘ And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers.

‘ And he will take your fields, and your vineyards, and your olive-yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants.

‘ And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers and his servants.

‘ And he will take your men-servants, and your maid-servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work.

‘ And he will take the tenth of your sheep, and you shall be his servants.

‘ And ye shall cry out in that day, because of your King, which ye shall have chosen you; and the Lord will not hear you on that day.’

“ Now, my Lords, what can we think of this man Samuel? Is there a word of truth, or any thing like truth, in all that he has said? He pretended to be a prophet, or a wise man, but has not the event proved him to be a fool, or an incendiary? Look around, my Lords, and see if any thing has happened that he pretended to foretel? Has not the most profound peace reigned throughout the world ever since Kings were in fashion? Are not, for example, the present Kings of Europe the most peaceable of mankind, and the Empress of Russia the very milk of human kindness? It would not be worth having Kings, my Lords, if it were not that they never go to war.

“ If we look at home, my Lords, do we not see the same things here as are seen every where else? Are our young men taken to be horsemen, or foot soldiers, any more than in Germany or in Prussia, or in Hanover or in Hesse? Are not our sailors as safe at land as at sea? Are they ever dragged from their homes, like oxen to the slaughter-house, to serve on board ships of war? When they return from the perils of a long voyage with the merchandize of distant countries, does not every man sit down under his own vine and his own fig-tree, in perfect security? Is the tenth of our seed taken by tax-gatherers, or is any part of it given to the King’s servants? In short, *is not every thing as free from taxes as the light of Heaven?*

“ Ah! my Lords, do we not see the blessed effect of having Kings in every thing we look at? Is not the G. R. or the broad R. stamped upon every thing? Even the shoes, the gloves, and the hats that we wear, are enriched with the impression, and all our candles blaze a burnt-offering.

“ Besides these blessings, my Lords, that cover us from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, do we not see

a race of youths growing up to be Kings, who are the very paragons of virtue? There is not one of them, my Lords, but might be trusted with untold gold, as safely as the other. Are they not '*more sober, more intelligent, more solid, more steady,*' and withal, more learned, more wise, more every thing, than any youths *we* '*ever had the fortune to see?*' Ah! my Lords, they are a *hopeful family!*

"The blessed prospect of succession, which the Nation has at this moment before its eyes, is a most undeniable proof of the excellence of our Constitution, and of the blessed hereditary system; for nothing, my Lords, but a Constitution founded on the truest and purest wisdom, could admit such heaven-born and heaven-taught characters into the Government.—Permit me now, my Lords, to recal your attention to the libellous chapter I have just read about Kings. I mention this, my Lords, because it is my intention to move for a bill to be brought into the Parliament to expunge that chapter from the Bible; and that the Lord Chancellor, with the assistance of the Prince of Wales, the Duke of York, and the Duke of Clarence, be requested to write a chapter in the room of it; and that Mr. Burke do see that it be truly canonical, and faithfully inserted."—
FINIS.

If the Clerk of the Court of King's Bench should choose to be the orator of this luminous encomium on the Constitution, I hope he will get it well by heart before he attempts to deliver it, and not have to apologize to Parliament, as he did in the case of Bolingbroke's encomium, for forgetting his lesson, and with this admonition I leave him.

Having thus informed the Addressers of what passed at the meeting of Parliament, I return to take up the subject at the part where I broke off, in order to introduce the preceding speeches.

I was then stating, that the first policy of the Government party was silence, and the next, clamorous contempt; but as people generally choose to read and judge for themselves, the work still went on, and the affectation of contempt, like the silence that preceded it, passed for nothing.

Thus foiled in their second scheme, their evil genius, like a will-with-a-wisp, led them to a third; when all at once, as if it had been unfolded to them by a fortune-teller, or Mr. Dundas had discovered it by second sight, this once harmless, insignificant book, without undergoing the alteration of a single letter, became a most wicked and dangerous Libel. The whole Cabinet, like a ship's crew, became alarmed; all

hands were piped upon deck, as if a conspiracy of elements was forming around them, and out came the Proclamation and the Prosecution, and Addresses supplied the place of prayers.

Ye silly swains, thought I to myself, why do you torment yourselves thus? The RIGHTS OF MAN is a book calmly and rationally written; why then are you so disturbed? Did you see how little, or how suspicious such conduct makes you appear, even cunning alone, had you no other faculty, would hush you into prudence. The plans, principles, and arguments, contained in that work, are placed before the eyes of the Nation, and of the world, in a fair, open, and manly manner, and nothing more is necessary than to refute them. Do this, and the whole is done; but if ye cannot, so neither can ye suppress the reading, nor convict the Author, for that Law, in the opinion of all good men, would convict itself, that should condemn what cannot be refuted.

Having now shewn the Addressers the several stages of the business, prior to their being called upon, like Cæsar in the Tyber, crying to Cassius, "*Help, Cassius, or I sink!*" I next come to remark on the policy of the Government in promoting Addresses; on the consequences naturally resulting therefrom, and on the conduct of the persons concerned.

With respect to the policy, it evidently carries with it every mark and feature of disguised fear. And it will hereafter be placed in the history of extraordinary things, that a pamphlet should be produced by an individual, unconnected with any sect or party, and not seeking to make any, and almost a stranger in the land, that should completely frighten a whole Government, and that in the midst of its most triumphant security. Such a circumstance cannot fail to prove, that either the pamphlet has irresistible powers, or the Government very extraordinary defects, or both. The Nation exhibits no signs of fear at the RIGHTS OF MAN; why then should the Government, unless the interest of the two are really opposite to each other, and the secret is beginning to be known? That there are two distinct classes of men in the Nation, those who pay taxes, and those who receive and live upon the taxes, is evident at first sight; and when taxation is carried to excess, it cannot fail to disunite those two, and something of this kind is now beginning to appear.

It is also curious to observe, amidst all the fume and bustle about Proclamations and Addresses, kept up by a few noisy and interested men, how little the mass of the Nation seem to

care about either. They appear to me, by the indifference they shew, not to believe a word that the Proclamation contains; and as to the Addresses, they travel to London with the silence of a funeral, and having announced their arrival in the Gazette, are deposited with the ashes of their predecessors, and Mr. Dundas writes their *hic jacet*.

One of the best effects which the Proclamation, and its echo the Addresses have had, has been that of exciting and spreading curiosity; and it requires only a single reflection to discover, that the object of all curiosity is knowledge. When the mass of the Nation saw that Placemen, Pensioners, and Borough-mongers, were the persons that stood forward to promote Addresses, it could not fail to create suspicions that the public good was not their object; that the character of the books, or writings, to which such persons obscurely alluded, not daring to mention them, was directly contrary to what they described them to be, and that it was necessary that every man, for his own satisfaction, should exercise his proper right, and read and judge for himself.

But how will the persons who have been induced to read the RIGHTS OF MAN, by the clamour that has been raised against it, be surprised to find, that instead of a wicked, inflammatory work; instead of a licentious and profligate performance, it abounds with principles of Government that are incontrovertible—with arguments which every reader will feel are unanswerable—with plans for the increase of commerce and manufactures—for the extinction of war—for the education of the children of the poor—for the comfortable support of the aged and decayed persons of both sexes—for the relief of the army and navy; and, in short, for the promotion of every thing that can benefit the moral, civil, and political condition of Man.

Why, then, some calm observer will ask, why is the work prosecuted, if these be the goodly matters it contains? I will tell thee, friend,—it contains, also, a plan for the reduction of Taxes, for lessening the immense expences of Government, for abolishing Sinecure Places and Pensions; and it proposes applying the redundant taxes that shall be saved by these reforms, to the purposes mentioned in the former paragraph, instead of applying them to the support of idle and profligate Placemen and Pensioners.

Is it, then, any wonder that Placemen and Pensioners, and the whole train of Court expectants, should become the promoters of Addresses, Proclamations, and Prosecutions? Or is it any wonder that Corporations and rotten Boroughs,

which are attacked and exposed, both in the First and Second Part of RIGHTS OF MAN, as unjust monopolies and public nuisances, should join in the cavalcade? Yet these are the sources from which Addresses have sprung. Had not such persons come forward to oppose the RIGHTS OF MAN, I should have doubted the efficacy of my own writings; but those opposers have now proved to me, that the blow was well directed, and they have done it justice by confessing the smart.

The principal deception in this business of Addresses has been, that the promoters of them have not come forward in their proper characters. They have assumed to pass themselves upon the Public as a part of the Public, bearing a share of the burthen of Taxes, and acting for the public good; whereas, they are in general that part of it that adds to the public burthen, by living on the produce of the public taxes. They are to the public, what the locusts are to the tree: the burthen would be less, and the prosperity would be greater, if they were shaken off.

“I do not come here,” said ONSLOW, at the Surrey County meeting,” as Lord Lieutenant and Custus Rotulorum of “the county, but I come here as a plain country gentleman.” The fact is, that he came there as what he was, and as no other, and, consequently, he came as one of the beings I have been describing. If it be the character of a gentleman to be fed by the public, as a pauper is by the parish, Onslow has a fair claim to the title; and the same description will suit the Duke of Richmond, who led the Address at the Sussex meeting.—He also may set up for a gentleman.

As to the meeting in the next adjoining county, (Kent) it was a scene of disgrace. About two hundred persons met, when a small part of them drew privately away from the rest, and voted an Address; the consequence of which was, that they got together by the ears, and produced a riot, in the very act of producing an Address to prevent Riots.

That the Proclamation and the Addresses have failed of their intended effect, may be collected from the silence which the Government party itself observes. The number of Addresses has been weekly retailed in the Gazette; but the number of Addressers has been concealed. Several of the Addresses have been voted by not more than ten or twelve persons; and a considerable number of them by not more than thirty. The whole number of Addresses presented at the time of writing this letter, is three hundred and

twenty, (rotten Boroughs and Corporations included,) and even admitting, on an average, one hundred Addressers to each Address, the whole number of Addressers would be but thirty-two thousand, and nearly three months have been taken up in procuring this number. That the success of the Proclamation has been less than the success of the Work it was intended to discourage, is a matter within my own knowledge; for a greater number of the cheap edition of the First and Second Part of RIGHTS OF MAN has been sold in the space of only one month, than the whole number of Addressers (admitting them to be thirty-two thousand) have amounted to in three months.

It is a dangerous attempt in any Government to say to a Nation, "*thou shalt not read.*" This is now done in Spain, and was formerly done under the old Government of France; but it served to procure the downfall of the latter, and is subverting that of the former; and it will have the same tendency in all countries; because *thought*, by some means or other, is got abroad in the world, and cannot be restrained, though reading may.

If RIGHTS OF MAN were a book that deserved the vile description which the promoters of the Addressers have given of it, why did not these men prove their charge, and satisfy the people, by producing it, and reading it publicly? This most certainly ought to have been done, and would also have been done, had they believed it would have answered their purpose. But the fact is, that the book contains truths, which those time-servers dreaded to hear, and dreaded that the people should know; and it is now following up the Addresses in every part of the Nation, and convicting them of falsehoods.

Among the unwarrantable proceedings to which the Proclamation has given rise, the meetings of the Justices in several of the towns and counties ought to be noticed. Those men have assumed to re-act the farce of General Warrants, and to suppress, by their own authority, whatever publications they please. This is an attempt at power, equalled only by the conduct of the minor despots of the most despotic Governments in Europe, and yet these Justices affect to call England a free Country. But even this, perhaps, like the scheme for garrisoning the country, by building military barracks, is necessary to awaken the country to a sense of its Rights, and, as such, it will have a good effect.

Another part of the conduct of such Justices has been that

of threatening to take away the licences from taverns and public-houses, where the inhabitants of the neighbourhood associated to read and discuss the principles of Government, and to inform each other thereon. This, again, is similar to what is doing in Spain and Russia; and the reflection which it cannot fail to suggest is, that the principles and conduct of any Government must be bad, when that Government dreads and startles at discussion, and seeks security by a prevention of knowledge.

If the Government, or the Constitution, or by whatever name it be called, be that miracle of perfection which the Proclamation and the Addresses have trumpeted it forth to be, it ought to have defied discussion and investigation, instead of dreading it. Whereas, every attempt it makes, either by Proclamation, Prosecution, or Address, to suppress investigation, is a confession that it feels itself unable to bear it. It is error only, and not truth, that shrinks from enquiry. All the numerous pamphlets, and all the newspaper falsehood and abuse, that have been published against the "RIGHTS OF MAN," have fallen before it like pointless arrows; and, in like manner, would any work have fallen before the Constitution, had the Constitution, as it is called, been founded on as good political principles as those on which the RIGHTS OF MAN is written.

It is a good Constitution for Courtiers, Placemen, Pensioners, Borough-holders, and the leaders of Parties, and these are the men that have been the active leaders of Addresses; but it is a bad Constitution for at least ninety-nine parts of the Nation out of an hundred, and this truth is every day making its way.

It is bad, first, because it entails upon the Nation the unnecessary expence of supporting three forms and systems of Government at once, namely, the monarchical, the aristocratical, and the democratical.

Secondly, because it is impossible to unite such a discordant composition by any other means than perpetual corruption; and therefore the corruption so loudly and so universally complained of, is no other than the natural consequence of such an unnatural compound of Governments; and in this consists that excellence which the numerous herd of Placemen and Pensioners so loudly extol, and which, at the same time, occasions that enormous load of taxes under which the rest of the Nation groans.

Among the mass of National delusions calculated to amuse and impose upon the multitude, the standing one

has been, that of flattering them into taxes, by calling the Government, (or as they please to express it, the English Constitution) "*the envy and the admiration of the world.*" Scarcely an address has been voted in which some of the speakers have not uttered this hackneyed, nonsensical falsehood.

Two Revolutions have taken place, those of America and France; and both of them have rejected the unnatural compounded system of the English Government. America has declared against all hereditary Government, and established the representative system of Government only. France has entirely rejected the aristocratical part, and is now discovering the absurdities of the monarchical, and is approaching fast to the representative system. On what ground, then, do those men continue a declaration, respecting what they call the *envy and admiration of other Nations*, which the voluntary practice of such Nations, as have had the opportunity of establishing Government, contradicts and falsifies? Will such men never confine themselves to truth? Will they be for ever the deceivers of the people?

But I will go further, and shew, that, were Government now to begin in England, the people could not be brought to establish the same system they now submit to.

In speaking upon this subject, or on any other, *on the pure ground of principle*, antiquity and precedent cease to be authority, and hoary-headed error loses its effect. The reasonableness and propriety of things must be examined abstractedly from custom and usage; and in this point of view, the right which grows into practice to-day is as much a right, and as old in principle and theory, as if it had the customary sanction of a thousand ages. Principles have no connection with time, nor characters with names.

To say that the Government of this country is composed of King, Lords, and Commons, is the mere phraseology of custom. It is composed of men; and whoever the men be, to whom the Government of any country is entrusted, they ought to be the best, and wisest that can be found, and if they are not so, they are not fit for the station. A man derives no more excellence from the change of a name, or calling him King, or calling him Lord, than I should do by changing my name from Thomas to George, or from Paine to Guelph. I should not be a whit the more able to write a book because my name were altered; neither would any man, now called a King or a Lord, have a whit the more sense than he now has, were he to call himself Thomas Paine.

As to the word "Commons," applied as it is in England, it is a term of degradation and reproach, and ought to be abolished. It is a term unknown in free countries.

But to the point.—Let us suppose that Government was now to begin in England, and that the plan of Government, offered to the Nation for its approbation or rejection, consisted of the following parts:

First—That some one individual should be taken from all the rest of the Nation, and to whom all the rest should swear obedience, and never be permitted to sit down in his presence, and that they should give to him one million sterling a year.—That the Nation should never after have power or authority to make laws but with his express consent, and that his sons, and his sons' sons, whether wise or foolish, good men or bad, fit or unfit, should have the same power, and also the same money annually paid to them for ever.

Secondly—That there should be two houses of Legislators to assist in making laws, one of which should, in the first instance, be entirely appointed by the aforesaid person, and that their sons, and their sons' sons, whether wise or foolish, good men or bad, fit or unfit, should for ever after be hereditary Legislators.

Thirdly—That the other house should be chosen in the same manner as the house now called the House of Commons, is chosen, and should be subject to the controul of the two aforesaid hereditary Powers in all things.

It would be impossible to cram such a farrago of imposition and absurdity down the throat of this, or any other Nation, that was capable of reasoning upon its rights and its interest.

They would ask, in the first place, on what ground of right, or on what principle, such irrational and preposterous distinctions could, or ought to be made; and what pretensions any man could have, or what services he could render, to entitle him to a million a year? They would go farther, and revolt at the idea of consigning their children, and their children's children, to the domination of persons hereafter to be born, who might, for any thing they could foresee, turn out to be knaves or fools; and they would finally discover, that the project of hereditary Governors and Legislators, *was a treasonable usurpation over the rights of posterity*. Not only the calm dictates of reason, and the force of natural affection, but the integrity of manly pride would impel men to spurn such proposals.

From the grosser absurdities of such a scheme, they would extend their examination to the practical defects.— They would soon see that it would end in tyranny accomplished by fraud; that in the operation of it, it would be two to one against them, because the two parts that were to be made hereditary, would form a common interest, and stick to each other; and that themselves, and their representatives, would become no better than hewers of wood and drawers of water, for the other parts of the Government.— Yet call one of those powers King, the other Lords, and the third the Commons, and it gives the model of what is called the English Government.

I have asserted, and have shewn, both in the First and Second Part of RIGHTS OF MAN, that there is not such a thing as an English Constitution, and that the people have yet a Constitution to form. *A Constitution is a thing antecedent to a Government; it is the act of the people creating a Government, and giving it powers, and defining the limits and exercise of the powers so given.* But whenever did the people of England, acting in their original constituent character, by a delegation elected for that express purpose, declare and say “*We the people of this land do constitute and appoint this to be our system and form of Government?*” The Government has assumed to constitute itself, but it never was constituted by the people, in whom alone the right of constituting resides.

I will here recite the preamble to the Federal Constitution of the United States of America. I have shewn in the Second Part of RIGHTS OF MAN, the manner by which the Constitution was formed and afterwards ratified; and to which I refer the reader. The preamble is in the following words:

“WE, THE PEOPLE of the United States, in order to
 “form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure
 “domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence,
 “promote the general welfare, secure the blessings of
 “liberty, to ourselves and our posterity, DO ORDAIN
 “AND ESTABLISH this CONSTITUTION for the United
 “States of America.”

Then follow the several articles which appoint the manner in which the several component parts of the Government, legislative and executive, shall be elected, and the period of their duration, and the powers they shall have: also, the manner by which future additions, alterations, or amendments, shall be made to the Constitution. Consequently, every improvement that can be made in the science of Go-

vernment, follows in that country as a matter of order. It is only in Governments, founded on assumption, and false principles, that reasoning upon, and investigating systems and principles of Government, and shewing their several excellencies and defects, are termed libellous and seditious. Those terms were made part of the charge brought against Locke, Hampden, and Sydney, and will continue to be brought against all good men, so long as bad Governments shall continue.

The Government of this country has been ostentatiously giving challenges for more than an hundred years past, upon what it called its own excellence and perfection. Scarcely a King's Speech or a Parliamentary Speech has been uttered, in which this glove has not been thrown, till the world has been insulted with their challenges. But it now appears that all this was vapour and vain boasting, or that it was intended to conceal abuses and defects, and hush the people into taxes. I have taken the challenge up, and in behalf of the public have shewn, in a fair, open, and candid manner, both the radical and practical defects of the system; when, lo! those champions of the Civil List have fled away, and sent the Attorney-General to deny the challenge, by turning the acceptance of it into an attack, and defending their Places and Pensions by a prosecution.

I will here drop part of the subject, and state a few particulars respecting the prosecution now pending, by which the Addressers will see that they have been used as tools to the prosecuting party and their dependants. The case is as follows:

The original edition of the First and Second Part of RIGHTS OF MAN, having been expensively printed (in the modern style of printing pamphlets, that they might be bound up with Mr. Burke's Reflections on the French Revolution,) the high price precluded the generality of people from purchasing; and many applications were made to me from various parts of the country to print the work in a cheaper manner. The people of Sheffield requested leave to print two thousand copies for themselves, with which request I immediately complied. The same request came to me from Rotherham, from Leicester, from Chester, from several towns in Scotland; and Mr. James Mackintosh, Author of *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, brought me a request from Warwickshire, for leave to print ten thousand copies in that county. I had already sent a cheap edition to Scotland; and finding the applications increase, I concluded that the

best method of complying therewith, would be to print a very numerous edition, in London, under my own direction, by which means the work would be more perfect, and the price be reduced lower than it could be by printing small editions in the country of only a few thousands each.

The cheap edition of the First Part, was begun about the middle of last April, and from that moment, and not before, I expected a prosecution, and the event has proved that I was not mistaken. I had then occasion to write to Mr. Thomas Walker, of Manchester, and after informing him of my intention of giving up the work for the purpose of general information, I informed him of what I apprehended would be the consequence; that while the work was at a price that precluded an extensive circulation, the Government-party, not able to controvert the plans, arguments, and principles it contained, had chosen to remain silent; but that I expected they would make an attempt to deprive the mass of the Nation, and especially the poor, of the right of reading, by the pretence of prosecuting either the Author, or the Publisher, or both. They chose to begin with the Publisher.

Nearly a month, however, passed, before I had any information given me of their intentions. I was then at Bromley, in Kent, upon which I came immediately to town, (May 14,) and went to Mr. Jordan, the publisher of the original edition. He had, that evening, been served with a summons, to appear at the Court of King's Bench on the Monday following, but for what purpose was not stated. Supposing it to be on account of the work, I appointed a meeting with him on the next morning, which was accordingly had, when I provided an attorney, and took the expence of the defence on myself. But finding afterwards that he absented himself from the attorney employed, and employed another, and that he had been closeted with the Solicitors of the Treasury, I left him to follow his own choice, and he chose to plead Guilty. This he might do if he pleased; and I make no objection against him for it. I believe that his idea by the word *Guilty*, was no other than declaring himself to be the Publisher, without any regard to the merits or demerits of the work; for were it to be construed otherwise, it would amount to the absurdity of converting a Publisher into a Jury, and his confession into a verdict upon the work itself. This would be the highest possible refinement upon packing of Juries.

On the 21st of May, they commenced their prosecution

against me, as the Author, by leaving a summons at my lodgings in town, to appear at the Court of King's Bench on the 8th of June following; and, on the same day, (May 21,) *they issued also their Proclamation*. Thus the Court of St. James's, and the Court of King's Bench, were playing into each other's hands at the same instant of time, and the farce of Addresses brought up the rear; and this mode of proceeding is called by the prostituted name of Law. Such a thundering rapidity, after a ministerial dormancy of almost eighteen months, can be attributed to no other cause than their having gained information of the forwardness of the cheap edition, and the dread they felt at the progressive increase of political knowledge.

I was strongly advised by several gentlemen, as well those in the practice of the Law, as others, to prefer a bill of indictment against the Publisher of the Proclamation, as a publication tending to influence, or rather to dictate the verdict of a Jury on the issue of a matter then pending; but it appeared to me much better to avail myself of the opportunity which such a precedent justified me in using, by meeting the Proclamation and the Addresses on their own ground, and publicly defending the Work which had been thus unwarrantably attacked and traduced.—And conscious as I now am, that the Work entitled *RIGHTS OF MAN*, so far from being, as has been maliciously or erroneously represented, a false, wicked, and seditious Libel, is a Work abounding with unanswerable truths, with principles of the purest morality and benevolence, and with arguments not to be controverted. Conscious, I say, of these things, and having no object in view but the happiness of mankind, I have now put the matter to the best proof in my power, by giving to the public a cheap edition of the First and Second Parts of that Work. Let every man read and judge for himself, not only of the merits and demerits of the Work, but of the matters therein contained, which relate to his own interest and happiness.

If, to expose the fraud and imposition of monarchy, and every species of hereditary government—to lessen the oppression of taxes—to propose plans for the education of helpless infancy, and the comfortable support of the aged and distressed—to endeavour to conciliate Nations to each other—to extirpate the horrid practice of war—to promote universal peace, civilization, and commerce—and to break the chains of political superstition, and raise degraded man to his proper rank;—if these things be libellous, let me live the

life of a Libeller, and let the name of LIBELLER be engraven on my tomb.

Of all the weak and ill-judged measures which fear, ignorance, or arrogance, could suggest, the Proclamation, and the project for Addresses, are two of the worst. They served to advertise the Work which the promoters of those measures wished to keep unknown; and in doing this, they offered violence to the judgment of the people, by calling on them to condemn what they forbade them to know, and they put the strength of their party to that hazardous issue that prudence would have avoided.—The County Meeting for Middlesex was attended by only one hundred and eighteen Addressers. They, no doubt, expected, that thousands would flock to their standard, and clamour against the RIGHTS OF MAN. But the case most probably is, that men, in all countries, are not so blind to their Rights and their Interest, as Governments believe.

Having thus shewn the extraordinary manner in which the Government-party commenced their attack, I proceed to offer a few observations on the prosecution, and on the mode of trial by Special Jury.

In the first place, I have written a book; and if it cannot be refuted, it cannot be condemned. But I do not consider the prosecution as particularly levelled against me, but against the general right, or the right of every man, of investigating systems and principles of Government, and shewing their several excellencies or defects. If the press be free only to flatter Government, as Mr. Burke has done, and to cry up and extol what certain Court-sycophants are pleased to call a “glorious Constitution,” and not free to examine into its errors or abuses, or whether a Constitution really exist or not, such freedom is no other than that of Spain, Turkey, or Russia; and a Jury, in this case, would not be a Jury to try, but an Inquisition to condemn.

I have asserted, and by fair and open argument maintained, the Right of every Nation, at all times, to establish such a system and form of Government for itself, as best accords with its disposition, interest, and happiness; and to change, or alter it, as it sees occasion. Will any Jury deny to the Nation this right? If they do, they are Traitors, and their Verdict would be null and void. And if they admit the right, the means must be admitted also; for it would be the highest absurdity to say that the right existed, but the means did not. The question, then is,—What are the means by which the possession and exercise of this National Right

are to be secured? the answer will be, that of maintaining, inviolably, the rights of free investigation; for investigation always serves to detect error, and to bring forth truth.

I have, as an individual, given my opinion upon what I believe to be not only the best, but the true system of Government, which is the representative system, and I have given reasons for that opinion.

First, Because, in the representative system, no Office of very extraordinary power, or extravagant pay, is attached to any individual; and, consequently, there is nothing to excite those National contentions and civil wars, with which countries under monarchical Governments are frequently convulsed, and of which the History of England exhibits such numerous instances.

Secondly, Because the representative system, is a system of Government always in maturity; whereas, monarchical Government fluctuates through all the stages, from non-age to dotage.

Thirdly, Because the representative system admits of none but men properly qualified, into the Government, or removes them, if they prove to be otherwise. Whereas, in the hereditary system, a Nation may be incumbered with a knave, or an idiot, for a whole life-time, and not be benefited by a successor.

Fourthly, Because there does not exist a right to establish hereditary Government, or, in other words, hereditary successors, because hereditary Government always means a Government yet to come, and the case always is, that those who are to live afterwards, have the same right to establish Government for themselves, as the people had who lived before them: and, therefore, all laws attempting to establish hereditary Government, are founded on assumption and political fiction.

If these positions be truths, and I challenge any man to prove the contrary; if they tend to instruct and enlighten mankind, and to free them from error, oppression, and political superstition, which are the objects I have in view in publishing them, that Jury would commit an act of injustice to their country and to me, if not an act of perjury, that should call them *false*, *wicked*, and *malicious*.

Dragonetti, in his Treatise "On Virtue and Rewards," has a paragraph worthy of being recorded in every country in the world.—"The science," says he, "of the politician, consists in fixing the true point of happiness and freedom. Those men would deserve the gratitude of ages, who should

discover a mode of government that contained the greatest sum of *individual happiness* with the least *National expence*." But if Juries are to be made use of to prohibit inquiry, to suppress truth, and to stop the progress of knowledge, this boasted palladium of liberty becomes the most successful instrument of tyranny.

Among the arts practised at the Bar, and from the Bench, to impose upon the understanding of a Jury, and obtain a Verdict where the consciences of men could not otherwise consent, one of the most successful has been that of calling *truth a libel*, and of insinuating, that the words "*falsely, wickedly, and maliciously,*" though they are made the formidable and high sounding part of the charge, are not matters for consideration with a Jury. For what purpose, then, are they retained, unless it be for that of imposition and wilful defamation?

I cannot conceive a greater violation of order, nor a more abominable insult upon morality, and upon human understanding, than to see a man sitting in the judgment seat, affecting, by an antiquated foppery of dress, to impress the audience with awe; then causing witnesses and Jury to be sworn to truth and justice, himself having officially sworn the same; then causing to be read a prosecution against a man, charging him with having *wickedly and maliciously written and published a certain false, wicked, and seditious book*; and having gone through all this with a shew of solemnity, as if he saw the eye of the Almighty darting through the roof of the building like a ray of light, turn, in an instant, the whole into a farce, and, in order to obtain a verdict that could not otherwise be obtained, tell the Jury that the charge of *falsely, wickedly, and seditiously*, meant nothing; that *truth* was out of the question; and that whether the person accused, spoke truth or falsehood, or intended *virtuously* or *wickedly*, was the same thing; and finally conclude the wretched inquisitorial scene, by stating some antiquated precedent, equally as abominable as that which is then acting, or giving some opinion of his own, and *falsely calling the one and the other—Law*. It was, most probably, to such a Judge as this, that the most solemn of all reproofs was given—" *The Lord will smite thee, thou whitened wall.*"

I now proceed to offer some remarks on what is called a Special Jury.—As to what is called a Special Verdict, I shall make no other remark upon it, than that it is in reality *not a verdict*. It is an attempt on the part of the Jury to

delegate, or of the bench to obtain, the exercise of that right which is committed to the Jury only.

With respect to Special Juries, I shall state such matters as I have been able to collect, for I do not find any uniform opinion concerning the mode of appointing them.

In the first place, this mode of trial is but of modern invention, and the origin of it, as I am told, is as follows:

Formerly, when disputes arose between Merchants, and were brought before a Court, the case was, that the nature of their commerce, and the method of keeping Merchants' accounts, not being sufficiently understood by persons out of their own line, it became necessary to depart from the common mode of appointing Juries, and to select such persons for a Jury whose *practical knowledge* would enable them to decide upon the case. From this introduction, Special Juries became more general; but some doubts having arisen as to their legality, an act was passed in the 3d of George II. to establish them as legal, and also to extend them to all cases, not only between individuals, but in cases where *the Government itself should be the Prosecutor*. This most probably gave rise to the suspicion so generally entertained of packing a Jury; because, by this act, when the Crown, as it is called, is the Prosecutor, the Master of the Crown Office, who holds his office under the Crown, is the person who either wholly nominates, or has great power in nominating the Jury, and therefore it has greatly the appearance of the prosecuting party selecting a Jury.

The process is as follows:

On motion being made in Court, by either the Plaintiff or Defendant, for a Special Jury, the Court grants it or not, at its own discretion.

If it be granted, the Solicitor of the party that applied for the Special Jury, gives notice to the Solicitor of the adverse party, and a day and hour are appointed for them to meet at the office of the Master of the Crown Office. The Master of the Crown Office sends to the Sheriff or his Deputy, who attends with the Sheriff's book of Freeholders. From this book, forty-eight names are *taken*, and a copy thereof given to each of the parties; and on a future day notice is again given, and the Solicitors meet a second time, and each strikes out twelve names. The list being thus reduced from forty-eight to twenty-four, the first twelve that appear in Court, and answer to their names, is the Special Jury for that cause. The first operation, that

of taking the forty-eight names, is called nominating the Jury; and the reducing them to twenty-four, is called striking the Jury.

Having thus stated the general process, I come to particulars, and the first question will be, how are the forty-eight names, out of which the Jury is to be struck, obtained from the Sheriff's book? for herein lies the principal ground of suspicion, with respect to what is understood by packing of Juries.

Either they must be taken by some rule agreed upon between the parties, or by some common rule known and established before-hand, or at the discretion of some person who, in such a case, ought to be perfectly disinterested in the issue, as well officially as otherwise.

In the case of Merchants, and in all cases between individuals, the Master of the office, called the Crown Office, is officially an indifferent person, and as such may be a proper person to act between the parties and present them with a list of forty-eight names, out of which each party is to strike twelve. But the case assumes an entirely different character when the Government itself is the Prosecutor. The Master of the Crown Office is then an officer holding his office under the Prosecutor; and it is therefore no wonder that the suspicion of packing Juries should, in such cases, have been so prevalent.

This will apply with additional force, when the prosecution is commenced against the Author or Publisher of such Works as treat of reforms, and of the abolition of superfluous places and offices, &c. because in such cases every person holding an office subject to that suspicion becomes interested as a party; and the office, called the Crown Office, may, upon examination, be found to be of this description.

I have heard it asserted, that the Master of the Crown Office is to open the Sheriff's book as it were per hazard, and take thereout forty-eight *following* names, to which the word Merchant or Esquire is affixed. The former of these are certainly proper, when the case is between Merchants, and it has reference to the origin of the custom, and to nothing else. As to the word Esquire, every man is an Esquire who pleases to call himself Esquire; and the sensible part of mankind are leaving it off. But the matter for inquiry is, whether there be any existing law to direct the mode by which the forty-eight names shall be taken, or whether the mode be merely that of custom which the

office has created; or whether the selection of the forty-eight names be wholly at the discretion and choice of the Master of the Crown Office? One or other of the two latter appears to be the case, because the act already mentioned, of the 3d of Geo. II. lays down no rule or mode, nor refers to any preceding law—but says only, that Special Juries shall hereafter be struck, “*in such manner as Special Juries have been and are usually struck.*”

This act appears to me to have been what is generally understood by a “*deep take in.*” It was fitted to the spur of the moment in which it was passed, 3d of Geo. II. when parties ran high, and it served to throw into the hands of Walpole, who was then Minister, the management of Juries in Crown prosecutions, by making the nomination of the forty-eight persons, from whom the Jury was to be struck, follow the precedent established by custom between individuals, and by this means it slipped into practice with less suspicion. Now, the manner of obtaining Special Juries through the medium of an officer of the Government, such for instance as a Master of the Crown Office, may be impartial in the case of Merchants, or other individuals, but it becomes highly improper, and suspicious, in cases where the Government itself is one of the parties. And it must upon the whole, appear a strange inconsistency, that a Government should keep one officer to commence prosecutions, and another officer to nominate the forty-eight persons from whom the Jury is to be struck, *both of whom are officers of the Civil List*, and yet continue to call this by the pompous name of *the glorious Right of trial by Jury!*

In the case of the King against Jordan, for publishing RIGHTS OF MAN, the Attorney-General moved for the appointment of a Special Jury, and the master of the Crown Office nominated the forty-eight persons himself, and took them from such parts of the Sheriff's book as he pleased. The trial did not come on, occasioned by Jordan withdrawing his plea: but if it had, it might have afforded an opportunity of discussing the subject of Special Juries; for though such discussion might have had no effect in the Court of King's Bench, it would, in the present disposition for inquiry, have had a considerable effect upon the Country; and in all National reforms, this is the proper point to begin at. Put a Country right, and it will soon put Government right. Among the improper things acted by the Government in the case of Special Juries, on their own motion, one has been that of treating the Jury with a

dinner, and afterwards giving each Juryman two guineas, if a verdict be found for the prosecution, and only one if otherwise; and it has been long observed, that in London, and Westminster, there are persons who appear to make a trade of serving, by being so frequently seen upon Special Juries.

Thus much for Special Juries. As to what is called a *Common Jury*, upon any Government-prosecution against the Author or Publisher of **RIGHTS OF MAN**, during the time of the *present Sheriffry*, I have one question to offer, which is—*whether the present Sheriffs of London, having publicly prejudged the case, by the part they have taken in procuring an Address from the county of Middlesex, (however diminutive and insignificant the number of Addressers were, being only one hundred and eighteen) are eligible or proper persons to be entrusted with the power of returning a Jury to try the issue of any such prosecution?*

But the whole matter appears, at least to me, to be worthy of a more extensive consideration than what relates to any Jury, whether Special or Common; for the case is, whether any part of a whole Nation, locally selected as a Jury of twelve men always is, be competent to judge and determine for the whole Nation, on any matter that relates to systems and principles of Government, and whether it be not applying the institution of Juries to purposes for which such institution was not intended? For example:

I have asserted in the **WORK RIGHTS OF MAN**, that as every man in the Nation pays taxes, so has every man a right to a share in Government, and consequently that the people of Manchester, Birmingham, Sheffield, Leeds, Halifax, &c. &c. have the same right as those of London. Shall then twelve men picked out between Temple-bar and Whitechapel, because the book happened to be first published there, decide upon the rights of the inhabitants of those towns, or of any other town or village in the Nation?

Having thus spoken of the Juries, I come next to offer a few observations on the matter contained in the information, or prosecution.

The **WORK RIGHTS OF MAN**, consists of Part the First, and Part the Second. The First Part, the prosecutor has thought it most proper to let alone; and from the Second Part he has selected a few short paragraphs, making in the whole not quite two pages of the same printing as in the cheap edition. Those paragraphs relate chiefly to certain

facts, such as the Revolution of 1688, and the coming of George the First, commonly called of the House of Hanover, or the House of Brunswick, or some such House. The arguments, plans, and principles, contained in the Work, the prosecutor has not ventured to attack. They are beyond his reach.

The Act which the prosecutor appears to rest most upon for the support of the prosecution, is the Act intituled, "An Act, declaring the rights and liberties of the subject, and settling the succession of the crown," passed in the first year of William and Mary, and more commonly known by the name of the "Bill of Rights."

I have called this Bill, "*A Bill of Wrongs, and of Insult.*" My reasons, and also my proofs, are as follow:

The method and principle which this Bill takes for declaring rights and liberties, are in direct contradiction to rights and liberties: it is an assumed attempt to take them wholly away from posterity,—for the declaration in the said Bill is as follows:

"The Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, do, *in the name of all the people*, most humbly and faithfully *submit themselves, their heirs, and posterity for ever;*" that is, to William and Mary his wife, their heirs and successors. This is a strange way of declaring rights and liberties! But the Parliament who made this declaration in the name, and on the part of the people, had no authority from them for so doing—and with respect to *posterity for ever*, they had no right or authority whatever in the case. It was assumption and usurpation. I have reasoned very extensively against the principle of this Bill in the first part of Rights of Man; the prosecutor has silently admitted that reasoning, and he now commences a prosecution on the authority of the Bill, after admitting the reasoning against it.

It is also to be observed, that the declaration in this Bill, abject and irrational as it is, had no other intentional operation than against the family of the Stuarts, and their abettors. The idea did not then exist, that in the space of an hundred years, posterity might discover a different and much better system of Government, and that every species of hereditary Government might fall, as Popes and Monks had fallen before. This, I say, was not then thought of, and therefore the application of the Bill, in the present case, is a new, erroneous, and illegal application, and is the same as creating a new bill, *ex post facto*.

It has ever been the craft of Courtiers, for the purpose of

keeping up an expensive and enormous Civil List, and a mummery of useless and antiquated places, and offices at the public expence, to be continually banging England upon some individual or other, called *King*, though the man might not have capacity to be a parish constable. The folly and absurdity of this is appearing more and more every day, and still those men continue to act as if no alteration in the public opinion had taken place. They hear each other's nonsense, and suppose the whole Nation talks the same Gibberish.

Letsuch men cry up the House of Orange, or the House of Brunswick, if they please. They would cry up any other house if it suited their purpose, and give as good reasons for it. But what is this house, or that house, or any house to a Nation? "*For a Nation to be free, it is sufficient that she wills it.*" Her freedom depends wholly upon herself, and not on any house, or on any individual. I ask not in what light this cargo of foreign Houses appears to others, but I will say in what light it appears to me.—It was like the trees of the forest saying unto the bramble, — Come thou and reign over us.

Thus much for both their Houses. I now come to speak of two other Houses, which are also put into the information, and those are, the House of Lords and the House of Commons. Here, I suppose, the Attorney-General intends to prove me guilty of speaking either truth or falsehood; for, according to the modern interpretation of Libels, it does not signify which, and the only improvement necessary to shew the complete absurdity of such doctrine, would be, to prosecute a man for uttering a most *false and wicked truth*.

I will quote the part I am going to give, from the Office Copy, with the Attorney General's inuendoes, enclosed in parentheses, as they stand in the information, and I hope that civil list officer will caution the Court not to laugh when he reads them, and also take care not to laugh himself.

The information states, that *Thomas Paine, being a wicked, malicious, seditious, and evil-disposed person, hath, with force and arms, and most wicked cunning, written and published a certain false, scandalous, malicious, and seditious libel; in one part thereof, to the tenor and effect following, that is to say—*

“ With respect to the two Houses, of which the English Parliament (*meaning the Parliament of this Kingdom*) is

composed, they appear to be effectually influenced into one, and, as a Legislature, to have no temper of its own. The Minister, (*meaning the Minister employed by the King of this Realm, in the administration of the Government thereof*) whoever he, at any time may be, touches IT, (*meaning the two Houses of Parliament of this Kingdom*) as with an opium wand, and IT (*meaning the two Houses of Parliament of this Kingdom*) sleeps obedience."—As I am not malicious enough to disturb their repose, though it be time they should awake, I leave the two Houses, and the Attorney-General to the enjoyment of their dreams, and proceed to a new subject.

The Gentlemen to whom I shall next address myself, are those who have styled themselves "*Friends of the People,*" holding their meeting at the Freemasons' Tavern, London.

One of the principal Members of this society is Mr. Grey, who, I believe, is also one of the most independent Members in Parliament. I collect this opinion from what Mr. Burke formerly mentioned to me, rather than from any knowledge of my own. The occasion was as follows :

I was in England at the time the bubble broke forth about Nootka Sound ; and the day after the King's Message, as it is called, was sent to Parliament, I wrote a note to Mr. Burke, that upon the condition the French Revolution should not be a subject, (for he was then writing the book I have since answered) I would call on him the next day, and mention some matters I was acquainted with, respecting that affair ; for it appeared to me extraordinary, that any body of men, calling themselves Representatives, should commit themselves so precipitately, or, "sleep obedience," as Parliament was then doing, and run a Nation into expence, and perhaps a war, without so much as inquiring into the case, or the subject, of both which I had some knowledge.

When I saw Mr. Burke, and mentioned the circumstances to him, he particularly spoke of Mr. Grey, as the fittest Member to bring such matters forward ; for, said Mr. Burke, "*I am not the proper person to do it, as I am in a treaty with Mr. Pitt about Mr. Hastings' trial.*" I hope the Attorney-General will allow, that Mr. Burke was then *sleeping his obedience.*—But to return to the Society—

I cannot bring myself to believe, that the general motive of this Society is any thing more than that by which every former Parliamentary opposition has been governed, and

by which the present is sufficiently known. Failing in their pursuit of power and place within doors, they have now (and that not in a very mannerly manner) endeavoured to possess themselves of that ground out of doors, which, had it not been made by others, would not have been made by them. They appear to me to have watched, with more cunning than candour, the progress of a certain publication, and when they saw it had excited a spirit of enquiry, and was rapidly spreading, they stepped forward to profit by the opportunity, and Mr. Fox *then* called it a Libel. In saying this, he libelled himself. Politicians of this cast, such, I mean, as those who trim between parties, and lie by for events, are to be found in every country, and it never yet happened that they did not do more harm than good. They embarrass business, fritter it to nothing, perplex the people, and the event to themselves generally is, that they go just far enough to make enemies of the few, without going far enough to make friends of the many.

Whoever will read the declaration of this Society, of the 25th April, and 5th of May, will find a studied reserve upon all the points that are real abuses. They speak not once of the extravagance of Government, of the abominable list of unnecessary and sinecure places and pensions, of the enormity of the Civil List, of the excess of taxes, nor of any one matter that substantially affects the Nation; and from some conversation that has passed in that Society, it does not appear to me that it is any part of their plan to carry this class of reform into practice. No Opposition Party ever did when it gained possession.

In making these free observations, I mean not to enter into a contention with this Society; their incivility towards me, is what I should expect from place-hunting reformers. They are welcome, however, to the ground they have advanced upon, and I wish that every individual among them may act in the same upright, uninfluenced, and public spirited manner that I have done. Whatever reforms may be obtained, and by whatever means, they will be for the benefit of others, and not of me. I have no other interest in the cause than the interest of my heart. The part I have acted has been wholly that of a volunteer, unconnected with party; and when I quit, it shall be as honourably as I began.

I consider the Reform of Parliament, by an application to Parliament, as proposed by the Society, to be a worn-out, hackneyed subject, about which the Nation is tired, and

the parties are deceiving each other. It is not a subject that is cognizable before Parliament, because no Government has a right to alter itself, either in the whole or in part. The right, and the exercise of that right, appertains to the Nation only, and the proper means is by a National Convention, elected for the purpose, by all the people. By this, the will of the Nation, whether to reform or not, or what the reform shall be, or how far it shall extend, will be known, and it cannot be known by any other means. Partial addresses, or separate associations, are not testimonies of the general will.

It is, however, certain that the opinions of men, with respect to systems and principles of Government, are changing fast in all countries. The alteration in England, within the space of little more than a year, is far greater than could then have been believed, and it is daily and hourly increasing. It moves along the country with the silence of thought. The enormous expence of Government has provoked man to think, by making them feel; and the Proclamation has served to increase jealousy and disgust. To prevent, therefore, those commotions which too often, and too suddenly arise from suffocated discontents, it is best that the general WILL should have the full and free opportunity of being publicly ascertained, and known. Wretched as the state of representation is in England, it is every day becoming worse, because the unrepresented parts of the Nation are increasing in population and property, and the represented parts are decreasing. It is, therefore, no ill-grounded estimation to say, that as not one person in seven is represented, at least fourteen millions of taxes out of the seventeen millions are paid by the unrepresented part; for although copyholds and leaseholds are assessed to the land-tax, the holders are unrepresented. Should then a general demur take place as to the obligation of paying taxes, on the ground of not being represented, it is not the Representatives of rotten Boroughs, nor Special Juries, that can decide the question. This is one of the possible cases that ought to be foreseen, in order to prevent the inconveniencies that might arise to numerous individuals, by provoking it.

I confess I have no idea of petitioning for rights. Whatever the Rights of the People are, they have a right to them, and none have a right either to withhold them, or to grant them. Government ought to be established on such principles of justice as to exclude the occasion of all such

applications, for wherever they appear they are virtually accusations.

I wish that Mr. Grey, since he has embarked in the business, would take the whole of it into consideration. He will then see that the right of reforming the state of the Representation does not reside in Parliament, and that the only motion he could consistently make, would be, that Parliament should *recommend* the election of a Convention by all the people, because all pay taxes. But whether Parliament recommended it or not, the right of the Nation would neither be lessened, nor increased thereby.

As to Petitions from the unrepresented part, they ought not to be looked for. As well might it be expected that Manchester, Sheffield, &c. should petition the rotten Boroughs, as that they should petition the Representatives of those Boroughs. Those two towns alone pay far more taxes than all the rotten Boroughs put together, and it is scarcely to be expected they should pay their court either to the Boroughs, or the Borough-mongers.

It ought also to be observed, that what is called Parliament, is composed of two houses, that have always declared against the right of each other to interfere in any matter that related to the circumstances of either, particularly that of election. A reform, therefore, in the representation, cannot, on the ground they have individually taken, become the subject of an act of Parliament, because such a mode would include the interference, against which the Commons, on their part, have protested; but must, as well on the ground of formality, as on that of right, proceed from a National Convention.

Let Mr. Grey, or any other man, sit down and endeavour to put his thoughts together for the purpose of drawing up an application to Parliament for a Reform of Parliament, and he will soon convince himself of the folly of the attempt. He will find that he cannot get on; that he cannot make his thoughts join, so as to produce any effect; for whatever formality of words he may use, they will unavoidably include two ideas directly opposed to each other; the one in setting forth the reasons, the other in praying for the relief; and the two, when placed together, would stand thus:—“*The Representation in Parliament is so very corrupt, that we can no longer confide in it,—and, therefore, confiding in the justice and wisdom of Parliament, we pray,*” &c. &c.

The heavy manner in which every former proposed application to Parliament has dragged, sufficiently shews, that

though the Nation might not exactly see the awkwardness of the measure, it could not clearly see its way by that means. To this also may be added, another remark, which is, that the worse Parliament is, the less will be the inclination to petition it. This indifference, viewed as it ought to be, is one of the strongest censures the public can express. It is as if they were to say, "Ye are not worth reforming."

Let any man examine the Court-Calendar of Placemen in both Houses, and the manner in which the Civil List operates, and he will be at no loss to account for this indifference and want of confidence on one side, nor of the opposition to reforms on the other.

Besides the numerous list of paid persons exhibited in the Court Calendar, which so indecently stares the Nation in the face, there are an unknown number of marked Pensioners, which render Parliament still more suspected.

Who would have supposed that Mr. Burke, holding forth as he formerly did, against secret influence and corrupt majorities, should become a concealed Pensioner? I will now state the case, not for the little purpose of exposing Mr. Burke, but to shew the inconsistency of any application to a body of men, more than half of whom, as far as the Nation can at present know, may be in the same case with himself.

Towards the end of Lord North's administration, Mr. Burke brought a bill into Parliament, generally known by the name of Mr. Burke's Reform Bill; in which, among other things, it is enacted, "That no pension exceeding the sum of three hundred pounds a-year shall be granted to any one person, and that the whole amount of the pensions granted in one year shall not exceed six hundred pounds; a list of which, together with the *names of the persons* to whom the same are granted, shall be laid before Parliament in twenty days after the beginning of each Session, until the whole pension list shall be reduced to ninety thousand pounds." A provisory clause is afterwards added, "That it shall be lawful for the First Commissioner of the Treasury to return into the exchequer any pension or annuity *without a name*, on his making oath that such pension or annuity is not directly or indirectly for the benefit, use, or behoof, of any Member of the House of Commons."

But soon after that Administration ended, and the party Mr. Burke acted with came into power, it appears, from the circumstances I am going to relate, that Mr. Burke became

himself a Pensioner in disguise in a similar manner, as if a pension had been granted in the name of John Nokes, to be privately paid to and enjoyed by Tom Stiles. The name of Edmund Burke does not appear in the original transaction; but after the pension was obtained, Mr. Burke wanted to make the most of it at once, by selling or mortgaging it; and the gentleman, in whose name the pension stands, applied to one of the public offices for that purpose. This unfortunately brought forth the name of *Edmund Burke*, as the real Pensioner of one thousand five hundred pounds per annum. When men trumpet forth what they call the blessings of the Constitution, it ought to be known what sort of blessings they allude to.

As to the Civil List, of a million a year, it is not to be supposed that any one man can eat, drink, or consume the whole upon himself. The case is, that above half this sum is annually apportioned among Courtiers, and Court Members, of both Houses, in places and offices, altogether insignificant and perfectly useless, as to every purpose of civil, rational, and manly Government. For instance:

Of what use in the science and system of Government is what is called a Lord Chamberlain, a Master and a Mistress of the Robes, a Master of the Horse, a Master of the Hawks, and an hundred other such things? Laws derive no additional force, nor additional excellence, from such mummery.

In the disbursements of the Civil List for the year 1786 (which may be seen in Sir John Sinclair's History of the Revenue) are four separate charges for this mummery office of Chamberlain.

1st	£38,778	17	0
2d	3,000	0	0
3d	24,069	19	0
4th	10,000	18	3
		<hr/>	
	75,849	14	3

besides £1,119 charged for alms.

From this sample, the rest may be guessed at. As to the Master of the Hawks, (there are no Hawks kept, and if there were, it is no reason the people should pay the expence of feeding them, many of whom are hard put to it to get bread for their children) his salary is £1,372l. 10s.

And besides a list of items of this kind, sufficient to fill a quire of paper, the Pension Lists alone are £107,404l. 13s. 4d.

which is a greater sum than all the expences of the federal Government in America amount to.

Among the items, there are two I had no expectation of finding, and which, in this day of enquiry after Civil List influence, ought to be exposed. The one is an annual payment of one thousand seven hundred pounds to the Dissenting Ministers in England, and eight hundred pounds to those of Ireland.

This is the fact; and the distribution, *as I am informed*, is as follows. The whole sum of £1,700 is paid to one person, a Dissenting Minister in London, who divides it among eight others, and those eight among such others as they please. The Lay-body of the Dissenters, and many of their principal Ministers, have long considered it as dishonourable, and have endeavoured to prevent it, but still it continues to be secretly paid, and as the world has sometimes seen very fulsome Addresses from parts of that body, it may naturally be supposed that the receivers, like Bishops, and other Court Clergy, are not idle in promoting them. How the money is distributed in Ireland, I know not.

To recount all the secret history of the Civil List is not the intention of this publication. It is sufficient, in this place, to expose its general character, and the mass of influence it keeps alive. It will necessarily become one of the objects of reform; and, therefore, enough is said to shew that, under its operation, no application to Parliament can be expected to succeed, nor can consistently be made.

Such reforms will not be promoted by the Party that is in possession of those places, nor by the Opposition who are waiting for them; and as to a *mere reform* in the state of the Representation, under the idea that another Parliament, differently elected to the present, but still a component third part of the same system, and subject to the controul of the other two parts, will abolish those abuses, is altogether delusion; because it is not only impracticable on the ground of formality, but it is unwisely exposing another set of men to the same corruptions that have tainted the present.

Were all the objects that require a reform accomplishable by a mere reform in the state of the Representation, the persons who compose the present Parliament might, with rather more propriety, be asked to abolish all the abuses themselves, than be applied to as the mere instruments of doing it by a future Parliament. If the virtue be wanting to abolish the abuse, it is also wanting to act as the means, and the Nation must, of necessity, proceed by some other plan.

Having thus endeavoured to shew what the abject condition of Parliament is, and the impropriety of going a second time over the same ground that has before miscarried, I come to the remaining part of the subject.

There ought to be, in the Constitution of every country, a mode of referring back, on any extraordinary occasion, to the sovereign and original constituent power, which is the Nation itself. The right of altering any part of a Government cannot, as already observed, reside in the Government, or that Government might make itself what it pleased.

It ought also to be taken for granted, that though a Nation may feel inconveniencies, either in the excess of taxation or in the mode of expenditure, or in any thing else, it may not at first be sufficiently assured in what part of its Government the defect lies, or where the evil originates. It may be supposed to be in one part, and on enquiry be found to be in another; or partly in all. This obscurity is naturally interwoven with what are called mixed Governments.

Be, however, the reform to be accomplished whatever it may, it can only follow in consequence of first obtaining a full knowledge of all the causes that have rendered such reform necessary, and every thing short of this is guess-work or frivolous cunning. In this case, it cannot be supposed that any application to Parliament can bring forward this knowledge. That body is itself the supposed cause, or one of the supposed causes, of the abuses in question; and cannot be expected, and ought not to be asked, to give evidence against itself. The enquiry, therefore, which is, of necessity, the first step in the business, cannot be entrusted to Parliament, but must be undertaken by a distinct body of men, separated from every suspicion of corruption or influence.

Instead, then, of referring to rotten Boroughs and absurd Corporations for addresses, or hawking them about the country, to be signed by a few dependent tenants, the real and effectual mode would be to come at once to the point, and to ascertain the sense of the Nation, by electing a National Convention. By this method, as already observed, the general WILL, whether to reform or not, or what the reform shall be, or how far it shall extend, will be known, and it cannot be known by any other means. Such a body, empowered and supported by the Nation, will have authority to demand information upon all matters necessary to be enquired into; and no Minister, nor any other person, will dare to refuse it. It will then be seen whether seventeen millions of taxes are necessary, and for what purposes they

are expended. The concealed Pensioners will then be obliged to unmask; and the source of influence and corruption, if any such there be, will be laid open to the Nation, not for the purpose of revenge, but of redress.

By taking this Public and National ground, all objections against partial Addresses on one side, or private Associations on the other, will be done away. THE NATION WILL DECREE ITS OWN REFORMS; and the clamour about Party and Faction, or Ins or Outs, will become ridiculous.

The plan and organization of a Convention is easy in practice.

In the first place, the number of inhabitants in every county can be sufficiently enough known, from the number of houses assessed to the House and Window-light tax in each county. This will give the rule for apportioning the number of Members to be elected to the National Convention in each of the counties.

If the total number of inhabitants in England be seven millions, and the total number of Members to be elected to the Convention be one thousand, the number of Members to be elected in a county containing one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, will be *twenty-one*, and in like proportion for any other county.

As the election of a Convention must, in order to ascertain the general sense of the Nation, go on grounds different from that of Parliamentary elections, the mode that best promises this end will have no difficulties to combat with from absurd customs, and pretended rights. The right of every man will be the same, whether he live in a city, town, or a village. The custom of attaching Rights to *place*, or in other words to inanimate matter, instead of to the *person*, independently of place, is too absurd to make any part of a rational argument.

As every man in the Nation of the age of twenty-one years, pays taxes either out of the property he possesses, or out of the product of his labour, which is property to him, and is amenable in his own person to every law of the land; so has every one the same equal right to vote, and no one part of a Nation, nor any individual, has a right to dispute the right of another. The man who should do this, ought to forfeit the exercise of his *own* right for a term of years. This would render the punishment consistent with the crime.

When a qualification to vote is regulated by years, it is placed on the firmest possible ground, because the qualifica-

tion is such as nothing but dying before the time can take away ; and the equality of Rights, as a principle, is recognized in the act of regulating the exercise. But when Rights are placed upon, or made dependent upon property, they are on the most precarious of all tenures. " Riches make themselves wings, and fly away," and the rights fly with them ; and thus they become lost to the man when they would be of most value.

It is from a strange mixture of tyranny and cowardice that exclusions have been set up and continued. The boldness to do wrong at first, changes afterwards into cowardly craft, and at last into fear. The Representatives in England appear now to act as if they were afraid to do right, even in part, lest it should awaken the nation to a sense of all the wrongs it has endured. This case serves to shew that the same conduct that best constitutes the safety of an individual, namely, a strict adherence to principle, constitutes also the safety of a Government, and that without it safety is but an empty name. When the rich plunder the poor of his rights, it becomes an example to the poor to plunder the rich of his property, for the rights of the one are as much property to him as wealth is property to the other, and the *little all* is as dear as the *much*. It is only by setting out on just principles that men are trained to be just to each other ; and it will always be found, that when the rich protect the rights of the poor, the poor will protect the property of the rich. But the guarantee, to be effectual, must be parliamenterarily reciprocal.

Exclusions are not only unjust, but they frequently operate as injuriously to the party who monopolizes, as to those who are excluded. When men seek to exclude others from participating in the exercise of any right, they should, at least, be assured that they can effectually perform the whole of the business they undertake ; for unless they do this, themselves will be losers by the monopoly. This has been the case with respect to the monopolized right of Election. The monopolizing party has not been able to keep the Parliamentary Representation, to whom the power of taxation was entrusted, in the state it ought to have been, and have thereby multiplied taxes upon themselves equally with those who were excluded.

A great deal has been, and will continue to be said, about disqualifications, arising from the commission of offences ; but were this subject urged to its full extent, it would disqualify a great number of the present Electors, together with

their Representatives; for, of all offences, none are more destructive to the morals of Society than Bribery and Corruption. It is, therefore, civility to such persons to pass this subject over, and to give them a fair opportunity of recovering, or rather of creating character.

Every thing, in the present mode of electioneering in England is the reverse of what it ought to be, and the vulgarity that attends elections is no other than the natural consequence of inverting the order of the system.

In the first place, the Candidate seeks the Elector, instead of the Elector seeking for a Representative; and the Electors are advertised as being in the interest of the Candidate, instead of the Candidate being in the interest of the Electors. The Candidate pays the Elector for his vote, instead of the Nation paying the Representative for his time and attendance on public business. The complaint for an undue election is brought by the Candidate, as if he, and not the Electors, were the party aggrieved; and he takes on himself at any period of the election to break it up, by declining, as if the election was in his right, and not in theirs.

The compact that was entered into at the last Westminster election, between two of the Candidates (Mr. Fox and Lord Hood) was an indecent violation of the principles of election. The Candidates assumed, in their own persons, the rights of the Electors; for it was only in the body of the Electors, and not at all in the Candidates, that the right of making any such compact or compromise could exist. But the principle of Election and Representation is so completely done away, in every stage thereof, that inconsistency has no longer the power of surprising.

Neither from Elections thus conducted, nor from rotten Borough Addressers, nor from County-meetings, promoted by Placemen and Pensioners, can the sense of the Nation be known. It is still corruption appealing to itself. But a Convention of a thousand persons fairly elected would bring every matter to a decided issue.

As to County-meetings, it is only persons of leisure, or those who live near to the place of meeting, that can attend, and the number on such occasions is but like a drop in the bucket, compared with the whole. The only consistent service which such meetings could render, would be that of apportioning the county into convenient districts; and when this is done, each district might, according to its number of inhabitants, elect its quota of County Members to the National Convention; and the vote of each Elector might

be taken in the parish where he resided, either by ballot or by voice, as he should chuse to give it.

A National Convention thus formed, would bring together the sense and opinions of every part of the nation, fairly taken. The science of Government, and the interest of the Public, and of the several parts thereof, would then undergo an ample and rational discussion, freed from the language of Parliamentary disguise.

But in all deliberations of this kind, though men have a right to reason with, and endeavour to convince each other, upon any matter that respects their common good, yet, in point of practice, the majority of opinions, when known, forms a rule for the whole, and to this rule every good citizen practically conforms.

Mr. Burke, as if he knew (for every concealed Pensioner has the opportunity of knowing) that the abuses acted under the present system are too flagrant to be palliated, and that the majority of opinions, whenever such abuses should be made public, would be for a general and effectual reform, has endeavoured to preclude the event, by sturdily denying the right of a majority of a Nation to act as a whole. Let us bestow a thought upon this case.

When any matter is proposed as a subject for consultation, it necessarily implies some mode of decision. Common consent, arising from absolute necessity, has placed this in a majority of opinions; because without it there can be no decision, and consequently no order. It is, perhaps, the only case in which mankind, however various in their ideas upon other matters, can consistently be unanimous; because it is a mode of decision derived from the primary original right of every individual concerned; *that* right being first individually exercised in giving an opinion, and whether that opinion shall arrange with the minority or the majority is a subsequent accidental thing that neither increases nor diminishes the individual, original right itself. Prior to any debate, inquiry, or investigation, it is not supposed to be known on which side the majority of opinions will fall, and therefore whilst this mode of decision secures to every one the right of giving an opinion, it admits to every one an equal chance in the ultimate event.

Among the matters that will present themselves to the consideration of a National Convention, there is one, wholly of a domestic nature, but so marvellously loaded with confusion, as to appear, at first sight, almost impossible to be reformed. I mean the condition of what is called Law.

But if we examine into the cause from whence this confusion, now so much the subject of universal complaint, is produced, not only the remedy will immediately present itself, but with it the means of preventing the like case hereafter.

In the first place, the confusion has generated itself from the absurdity of every Parliament assuming to be eternal in power, and the laws partake in a similar manner of this assumption. They have no period of legal or natural expiration, and however absurd in principle, or inconsistent in practice, many of them have become, they still are, if not especially repealed, considered as making a part of the general mass. By this means the body of what is called Law, is spread over a space of *several hundred years*, comprehending laws obsolete, laws repugnant, laws ridiculous, and every other kind of laws, forgotten, or remembered; and what renders the case still worse is, that the confusion multiplies with the progress of time.*

To bring this mis-shapen monster into form, and to prevent its lapsing again into a wilderness state, only two things, and those very simple, are necessary.

The first is, to review the whole mass of laws, and to bring forward such only as are worth retaining, and let all the rest drop; and to give to the laws so brought forward a new era commencing from the time of such reform.

Secondly, that at the expiration of every twenty-one years, (or any other stated period) a like review shall again be taken, and the laws found proper to be retained, be again carried forward commencing with that date, and the useless laws dropped and discontinued. By this means there can be no obsolete laws, and scarcely such a thing as laws standing in direct or equivocal contradiction to each other, and every person will know the period of time to which he is to look back for all the laws in being.

It is worth remarking, that whilst every other branch of science is brought within some commodious system, and the study of it simplified by easy methods, the laws take the contrary course, and become every year more complicated, entangled, confused, and obscure.

* In the time of Henry the Fourth, a law was passed making it felony "to multiply gold or silver, or to make use of the craft of multiplication," and this law remained two hundred and eighty-six years upon the statute books. It was then repealed as being ridiculous and injurious.

Among the paragraphs which the Attorney-General has taken from the *Rights of Man*, and put into his information, one is, that where I have said, "that with respect to regular law, there is *scarcely such a thing*."

As I do not know whether the Attorney-General means to shew this expression to be libellous, because it is TRUE, or because it is FALSE, I shall make no other reply to him in this place than by remarking, that if almanack-makers had not been more judicious than law-makers, the study of almanacks would by this time have become as abstruse as the study of law, and we should hear of a library of almanacks as we now do of statutes; but by the simple operation of letting the obsolete matter drop, and carrying forward that only which is proper to be retained, all that is necessary to be known is found within the space of a year, and laws also admit of being kept within some given period.

I shall here close this letter, so far as it respects the Addresses, the Proclamation, and the Prosecution; and shall offer a few observations to the Society styling itself, "THE FRIENDS OF THE PEOPLE."

That the science of Government is beginning to be better understood than in former times, and that the age of fiction and political superstition, and of craft and mystery, is passing away, are matters which the experience of every day proves to be true, as well in England as in other countries.

As therefore it is impossible to calculate the silent progress of opinion, and also impossible to govern a Nation after it has changed its habits of thinking, by the craft or policy that it was governed by before, the only true method to prevent popular discontents and commotions is, to throw, by every fair and rational argument, all the light upon the subject that can possibly be thrown; and, at the same time, to open the means of collecting the general sense of the Nation; and this cannot, as already observed, be done by any plan so effectually as a National Convention. Here individual opinion will quiet itself by having a centre to rest upon.

The Society already mentioned, (which is made up of men of various descriptions, but chiefly of those called Foxites,) appears to me, either to have taken wrong grounds from want of judgment, or to have acted with cunning reserve. It is now amusing the people with a new phrase, namely, that of "a temperate and moderate reform," the interpretation of which is, *a continuance of the abuses as long as possible. If we cannot hold all, let us hold some.*

Who are those that are frightened at reforms? Are th

public afraid that their taxes should be lessened too much? Are they afraid that sinecure places, and pensions, should be abolished too fast? Are the poor afraid that their condition should be rendered too comfortable? Is the worn-out mechanic, or the aged and decayed tradesman, frightened at the prospect of receiving ten pounds a year out of the surplus taxes? Is the soldier frightened at the thoughts of his discharge, and three shillings per week during life? Is the sailor afraid that press-warrants will be abolished? The Society mistakes the fears of borough-mongers, placemen, and pensioners, for the fears of the people, and the *temperate and moderate Reform* it talks of, is calculated to suit the condition of the former.

Those words, “temperate and moderate,” are words either of political cowardice, or of cunning, or seduction.—A thing, moderately good, is not so good as it ought to be. Moderation in temper is always a virtue; but moderation in principle is a species of vice. But who is to be the judge of what is a temperate and moderate Reform? The Society is the representative of nobody; neither can the unrepresented part of the Nation commit this power to those in Parliament, in whose election they had no choice; and, therefore, even upon the ground the Society has taken, recourse must be had to a National Convention.

The objection which Mr. Fox made to Mr. Grey’s proposed Motion for a Parliamentary Reform was, that it contained no plan.—It certainly did not. But the plan very easily presents itself; and whilst it is fair for all parties, it prevents the dangers that might otherwise arise from private or popular discontent.

THOMAS PAINE.

DISSERTATION

ON

First Principles

OF

G O V E R N M E N T.

BY

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DISSERTATION

ON

FIRST PRINCIPLES OF GOVERNMENT.

THERE is no subject more interesting to every man than the subject of government. His security, be he rich or poor, and, in a great measure, his prosperity, is connected therewith; it is therefore his interest, as well as his duty, to make himself acquainted with its principles, and what the practice ought to be.

Every art and science, however imperfectly known at first, has been studied, improved, and brought to what we call perfection, by the progressive labours of succeeding generations; but the science of government has stood still. No improvement has been made in the principle, and scarcely any in the practice, till the American revolution began. In all the countries of Europe (except in France) the same forms and systems that were erected in the remote ages of ignorance still continue, and their antiquity is put in the place of principle: it is forbidden to investigate their origin or by what right they exist. If it be asked how has this happened, the answer is easy; they are established on a principle that is false, and they employ their power to prevent detection.

Notwithstanding the mystery with which the science of government has been enveloped, for the purpose of enslaving, plundering, and imposing upon mankind, it is of all things the least mysterious and the most easy to be understood. The meanest capacity cannot be at a loss, if it begins its enquiries at the right point. Every art and science has some point, or alphabet, at which the study of that art or science begins, and by the assistance of which

the progress is facilitated. The same method ought to be observed with respect to the science of government.

Instead then of embarrassing the subject in the outset with the numerous subdivisions, under which different forms of government have been classed, such, as aristocracy, democracy, oligarchy, monarchy, &c. the better method will be to begin with what may be called primary divisions, or those under which all the several subdivisions will be comprehended.

The primary divisions are but two.

First, Government by election and representation.

Secondly, Government by hereditary succession.

All the several forms and systems of government, however numerous or diversified, class themselves under one or other of those primary divisions; for either they are on the system of representation, or on that of hereditary succession. As to that equivocal thing called mixed government, such as the late government of Holland, and the present government of England, it does not make an exception to the general rule, because the parts separately considered, are either representative or hereditary.

Beginning then our enquiries at this point, we have first to examine into the nature of those two primary divisions. If they are equally right in principle, it is mere matter of opinion which we prefer. If the one be demonstratively better than the other, that difference directs our choice; but if one of them should be so absolutely false, as not to have a right to existence, the matter settles itself at once; because a negative proved on one thing, where two only are offered, and one must be accepted, amounts to an affirmative on the other.

The revolutions that are now spreading themselves in the world have their origin in this state of the case; and the present war is a conflict between the representative system, founded on the rights of the people, and the hereditary system, founded in usurpation. As to what are called Monarchy, Royalty, and Aristocracy, they do not, either as things or as terms, sufficiently describe the hereditary system; they are but secondary things or signs of the hereditary system, and which fall of themselves if that system has not a right to exist. Were there no such terms as Monarchy, Royalty, and Aristocracy, or were other terms substituted in their place, the hereditary system, if it continued, would not be altered thereby. It would be the same system under any other titular name as it is now.

The character therefore of the revolutions of the present day distinguishes itself most definitively by grounding itself on the system of representative government, in opposition to the hereditary. No other distinction reaches the whole of the principle.

Having thus opened the case generally, I proceed, in the first place, to examine the hereditary system, because it has the priority in point of time. The representative system is the invention of the modern world; and that no doubt may arise as to my own opinion, I declare it beforehand, which is, *that there is not a problem in Euclid more mathematically true, than that hereditary government has not a right to exist. When, therefore, we take from any man the exercise of hereditary power, we take away that which he never had the right to possess, and which no law or custom could, or ever can, give him a title to.*

The arguments that have hitherto been employed against the hereditary system have been chiefly founded upon the absurdity of it, and its incompetency to the purpose of good government. Nothing can present to our judgment, or to our imagination, a figure of greater absurdity than that of seeing the government of a nation fall, as it frequently does, into the hands of a lad necessarily destitute of experience, and often little better than a fool. It is an insult to every man of years, of character, and of talent, in a country. The moment we begin to reason upon the hereditary system, it falls into derision: let but a single idea begin, and a thousand will soon follow. Insignificance, imbecility, childhood, dotage, want of moral character; in fine, every defect serious or laughable, unite to hold up the hereditary system as a figure of ridicule. Leaving however the ridiculousness of the thing, to the reflections of the reader, I proceed to the more important part of the question, namely, whether such a system has a right to exist?

To be satisfied of the right of a thing to exist, we must be satisfied that it had a right to begin; if it had not a right to begin, it has not a right to continue. By what right then did the hereditary system begin? Let a man but ask himself this question, and he will find that he cannot satisfy himself with an answer.

The right which any man, or any family had to set itself up at first to govern a nation, and to establish itself hereditarily, was no other than the right which Robespierre had to do the same thing in France. If he had none, they had none. If they had any, he had as much; for it is impossi-

ble to discover superiority of right in any family, by virtue of which hereditary governments could begin. The Capets, the Guelphs, the Robespierres, the Marats, are all on the same standing as to the question of right. It belongs exclusively to none.

It is one step towards liberty, to perceive that hereditary government could not begin as an exclusive right in any family. The next point will be, whether, having once began, it could grow into a right by the influence of time?

This would be supposing an absurdity; for either it is putting time in the place of principle, or making it superior to principle; whereas time has no more connection with, or influence upon principle, than principle has upon time. The wrong which began a thousand years ago, is as much a wrong as if it began to-day; and the right which originates to-day, is as much a right as if it had the sanction of a thousand years. Time, with respect to principles, is an eternal NOW: it has no operation upon them: it changes nothing of their nature and qualities. But what have we to do with a thousand years? Our life-time is but a short portion to that period, and if we find the wrong in existence as soon as we begin to live, that is the point of time at which it begins to us: and our right to resist it, is the same as if it had never existed before.

As hereditary government could not begin as a natural right in any family, nor derive after its commencement, any right from time, we have only to examine whether there exists in a nation a right to set it up and establish it by what is called law, as has been done in England? I answer, NO; and that any law or any constitution made for that purpose is an act of treason against the rights of every minor in the nation, at the time it is made, and against the rights of all succeeding generations. I shall speak upon each of those cases. First, of the minor, at the time such law is made. Secondly, of the generations that are to follow.

A nation, in a collective sense, comprehends all the individuals of whatever age, from just born to just dying. Of these, one part will be minors, the other aged. The average of life is not exactly the same in every climate and country, but in general, the minority in years are the majority in numbers, that is, the number of persons under twenty-one years, is greater than the number of persons above that age. This difference in numbers, is not necessary to the establishment of the principle I mean to lay down, but it serves to shew the justice of it more strongly. The principle would

be equally good, if the majority in years were also the majority in numbers.

The rights of minors are as sacred as the rights of the aged. The difference is altogether in the different age of the two parties, and nothing in the nature of the rights; the rights are the same rights; and are to be preserved inviolate for the inheritance of the minors when they shall come of age. During the minority of minors, their rights are under the sacred guardianship of the aged. The minor cannot surrender them; the guardian cannot dispossess him; consequently, the aged part of a nation, who are the law-makers for the *time being*, and who, in the march of life, are but a few years a-head of those who are yet minors, and to whom they must shortly give place, have not and cannot have the right to make a law to set up and establish hereditary government, or, to speak more distinctly, *an hereditary succession of governors*; because it is an attempt to deprive every minor in the nation, at the time such a law is made, of his inheritance of rights when he shall come of age, and to subjugate him to a system of government, to which, during his minority, he could neither consent nor object.

If a person, who is a minor at the time such a law is proposed, had happened to have been born a few years sooner, so as to be of the age of twenty-one years at the time of proposing it, his right to have objected against it, to have exposed the injustice and tyrannical principles of it, and to have voted against it, will be admitted on all sides. If, therefore, the law operates to prevent his exercising the same rights after he comes of age as he would have had a right to exercise had he been of age at the time, it is, undeniably, a law to take away and annul the rights of every person in the nation who shall be a minor at the time of making such a law, and consequently the right to make it cannot exist.

I come now to speak of government by hereditary succession as it applies to succeeding generations; and to shew that in this case, as in the case of minors, there does not exist in a nation a right to set it up.

A nation, though continually existing, is continually in a state of renewal and succession. It is never stationary. Every day produces new births, carries minors forward to maturity, and old persons from the stage. In this ever-running flood of generations there is no part superior in authority to another. Could we conceive an idea of superiority

in any, at what point of time, or in what century of the world, are we to fix it? To what cause are we to ascribe it? By what evidence are we to prove it? By what criterion are we to know it? A single reflection will teach us that our ancestors, like ourselves, were but tenants for life in the great freehold of rights. The fee-absolute was not in them, it is not in us, it belongs to the whole family of man, through all ages. If we think otherwise than this, we think either as slaves or as tyrants. As slaves, if we think that any former generation had a right to bind us; as tyrants, if we think that we have authority to bind the generations that are to follow.

It may not be inapplicable to the subject, to endeavour to define what is to be understood by a generation in the sense the word is here used.

As a natural term, its meaning is sufficiently clear. The father, the son, the grandson, are so many distinct generations. But when we speak of a generation as describing the persons in whom legal authority resides, as distinct from another generation of the same description who are to succeed them, it comprehends all those who are above the age of twenty-one years, at the time we count from; and a generation of this kind will continue in authority between fourteen and twenty-one years, that is, until the number of minors, who shall have arrived at age, shall be greater than the number of persons remaining of the former stock.

For example, if France at this or any other moment, contain twenty-four millions of souls, twelve millions will be males, and twelve females. Of the twelve millions of males, six millions will be of the age of twenty-one years, and six will be under, and the authority to govern will reside in the first six. But every day will make some alteration, and in twenty-one years, every one of those minors who survive will have arrived at age, and the greater part of the former stock will be gone: the majority of persons then living, in whom the legal authority resides, will be composed of those who, twenty-one years before, had no legal existence. Those will be fathers and grandfathers in their turn, and in the next twenty-one years, (or less) another race of minors, arrived at age, will succeed them, and so on.

As this is ever the case, and as every generation is equal in rights to another, it consequently follows, that there cannot be a right in any, to establish government by hereditary succession, because it would be supposing itself possessed of a right superior to the rest, namely, that of com-

manding by its own authority how the world shall be hereafter governed, and who shall govern it. Every age and generation is and must be (as a matter of right) as free to act for itself in all cases, as the age and generation that preceded it. The vanity and presumption of governing beyond the grave is the most ridiculous and insolent of all tyrannies. Man has no property in man, neither has one generation a property in the generations that are to follow.

In the first part of *Rights of Man*, I have spoken of government by hereditary succession; and I will here close the subject with an extract from that work, which states it under the two following heads.

“ First, of the right of any family to establish itself with hereditary power.

“ Secondly, of the right of a nation to establish a particular family.

“ With respect to the first of those heads, that of a family establishing itself with hereditary powers on its own authority independent of the nation, all men will concur in calling it despotism, and it would be trespassing on their understanding to attempt to prove it.

“ But the second head, that of a nation, that is, of a generation for the time being, establishing a particular family with hereditary powers, it does not present itself as despotism on the first reflection; but if men will permit a second reflection to take place, and carry that reflection forward, even but one remove out of their own persons to that of their offspring, they will then see, that hereditary succession becomes the same despotism to others, which the first persons reprobated for themselves. It operates to preclude the consent of the succeeding generation, and the preclusion of consent is despotism.

“ In order to see this matter more clearly, let us consider the generation which undertakes to establish a family with hereditary powers, separately from the generations which are to follow.

“ The generation which first selects a person and puts him at the head of its government, either with the title of king, or any other nominal distinction, acts its own choice, as a free agent for itself, be that choice wise or foolish. The person so set up is *not hereditary*, but selected and appointed; and the generation which sets him up, does not live under an hereditary government, but under a government of its own choice. Were the person so set up, and the generation who sets him up, to live for ever, it never could become

hereditary succession, and of consequence, hereditary succession could only follow on the death of the first parties.

“As therefore hereditary succession is out of the question with respect to the first generation, we have next to consider the character in which that generation acts towards the commencing generation, and to all succeeding ones.

“It assumes a character to which it has neither right nor title; for it changes itself from a legislator to a testator, and affects to make a will and testament which is to have operation after the demise of the makers, to bequeath the government; and it not only attempts to bequeath, but to establish on the succeeding generation a new and different form of government under which itself lived. Itself, as already observed, lived not under an hereditary government, but under a government of its own choice; and it now attempts by virtue of a will and testament, which it has not authority to make, to take from the commencing generation, and from all future ones, the right, and free agency by which itself acted.

“In whatever light hereditary succession, as growing out of the will and testament of some former generation, presents itself, it is both criminal and absurd. A. cannot make a will to take from B. the property of B. and give it to C.; yet this is the manner in which what is called hereditary succession by law, operates. A certain generation makes a will, under the form of a law, to take away the rights of the commencing generation, and of all future generations, and convey those rights to a third person, who afterwards comes forward, and assumes the government in consequence of that illicit conveyance.”

The history of the English parliament furnishes an example of this kind; and which merits to be recorded, as being the greatest instance of legislative ignorance and want of principle that is to be found in the history of any country. The case is as follows:—

The English parliament of 1688, imported a man and his wife from Holland, *William and Mary*, and made them king and queen of England. Having done this, the said parliament made a law to convey the government of the country to the heirs of William and Mary, in the following words: “We, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, do, in the name of the People of England, most humbly and faithfully submit *ourselves, our heirs, and posterities*, to William and Mary, *their heirs and posterities* for

ever." And in a subsequent law, as quoted by Edmund Burke, the said Parliament, in the name of the People of England then living, *binds the said people, their heirs, and posterities, to William and Mary, their heirs, and posterities, to the end of time.*

It is not sufficient that we laugh at the ignorance of such law-makers, it is necessary that we reprobate their want of principle. The constituent assembly of France (1789) fell into the same vice as the Parliament of England had done, and assumed to establish an hereditary succession in the family of the Capets, as an act of the constitution of that year. That every nation *for the time being*, has a right to govern itself as it pleases, must always be admitted; but government by hereditary succession is government for another race of people, and not for itself; and as those on whom it is to operate are not yet in existence, or are minors, so neither is the right in existence to set it up for them, and to assume such a right is treason against the right of posterity.

I here close the arguments on the first head, that of government by hereditary succession; and proceed to the second, that of government by election and representation; or, as it may be concisely expressed, *representative government* in contradistinction to *hereditary government*.

Reasoning by exclusion, if *hereditary government* has not a right to exist, and that it has not, is proveable, *representative government* is admitted of course.

In contemplating government by election and representation, we amuse not ourselves in enquiring when or how, or by what right it began. Its origin is ever in view. Man is himself the origin and the evidence of the right. It appertains to him in right of his existence, and his person is the title-deed.

The true, and only true basis of representative government is equality of rights. Every man has a right to one vote, and no more, in the choice of representatives. The rich have no more right to exclude the poor from the right of voting or of electing and being elected, than the poor have to exclude the rich; and wherever it is attempted, or proposed on either side, it is a question of force, and not of right. Who is he that would exclude another?—That other has a right to exclude him.

That which is now called aristocracy, implies an inequality of rights; but who are the persons that have a right to establish this inequality? Will the rich exclude themselves?

No! Will the poor exclude themselves? No! By what right then can any be excluded? It would be a question, if any man, or class of men, have a right to exclude themselves; but be this as it may, they cannot have the right to exclude another. The poor will not delegate such a right to the rich, nor the rich to the poor, and to assume it, is not only to assume arbitrary power, but to assume a right to commit robbery. Personal rights, of which the right of voting representatives is one, are a species of property of the most sacred kind; and he that would employ his pecuniary property, or presume upon the influence it gives him to dispossess or rob another of his property of rights, uses that pecuniary property as he would use fire-arms, and merits to have it taken from him.

Inequality of rights is created by a combination in one part of the community to exclude another part from its rights. Whenever it be made an article of a constitution, or a law, that the right of voting, or of electing and being elected, shall appertain exclusively to persons possessing a certain quantity of property, be it little or much, it is a combination of the persons possessing that quantity, to exclude those who do not possess the same quantity. It is investing themselves with powers as a self-created part of society, to the exclusion of the rest.

It is always to be taken for granted, that those who oppose an equality of rights, never mean the exclusion should take place on themselves; and in this view of the case, pardoning the vanity of the thing, aristocracy is a subject of laughter. This self-soothing vanity is encouraged by another idea not less selfish, which is, that the opposers conceive they are playing a safe game, in which there is a chance to gain and none to lose; that at any rate the doctrine of equality includes *them*, and that if they cannot get more rights than those whom they oppose and would exclude, they shall not have less. This opinion has already been fatal to thousands who, not contented with *equal rights*, have sought more till they lost all, and experienced in themselves, the degrading *inequality* they endeavoured to fix upon others.

In any view of the case it is dangerous and impolitic, sometimes ridiculous, and always unjust, to make property the criterion of the right of voting. If the sum, or value of the property upon which the right is to take place be considerable, it will exclude a majority of the people, and unite them in a common interest against the government,

and against those who support it, and as the power is always with the majority, they can overturn such a government and its supporters whenever they please.

If, in order to avoid this danger, a small quantity of property be fixed, as the criterion of the right, it exhibits liberty in disgrace, by putting it in competition with accident and insignificance. When a brood mare shall fortunately produce a foal or a mule, that by being worth the sum in question, shall convey to its owner the right of voting, or by its death take it from him, in whom does the origin of such a right exist? Is it in the man, or in the mule? When we consider how many ways property may be acquired without merit, and lost without a crime, we ought to spurn the idea of making it a criterion of rights.

But the offensive part of the case is, that this exclusion from the right of voting, implies a stigma on the moral character of the persons excluded; and this is what no part of the community has a right to pronounce upon another part. No external circumstance can justify it; wealth is no proof of moral character; nor poverty of the want of it. On the contrary, wealth is often the presumptive evidence of dishonesty; and poverty the negative evidence of innocence. If, therefore, property, whether little or much, be made a criterion, the means by which that property has been acquired, ought to be made a criterion also.

The only ground upon which exclusion from the right of voting is consistent with justice, would be to inflict it as a punishment for a certain time upon those who should propose to take away that right from others. The right of voting for representatives, is the primary right by which other rights are protected. To take away this right, is to reduce a man to a state of slavery, for slavery consists in being subject to the will of another, and he that has not a vote in the election of representatives, is in this case. The proposal, therefore, to disfranchise any class of men is as criminal as the proposal to take away property. When we speak of right, we ought always to unite with it the idea of duties; right becomes duties by reciprocity. The right which I enjoy becomes my duty to guarantee it to another, and he to me; and those who violate the duty justly incur a forfeiture of the right.

In a political view of the case, the strength and permanent security of government is in proportion to the number of people interested in supporting it. The true policy, therefore, is to interest the whole by an equality of rights,

for the danger arises from exclusions. It is possible to exclude men from the right of voting, but it is impossible to exclude them from the right of rebelling against that exclusion; and when all other rights are taken away, the right of rebellion is made perfect.

While men could be persuaded they had no rights, or that rights appertained only to a certain class of men, or that government was a thing existing in right of itself, it was not difficult to govern them authoritatively. The ignorance in which they were held, and the superstition in which they were instructed, furnished the means of doing it; but when the ignorance is gone, and the superstition with it; when they perceive the imposition that has been acted upon them; when they reflect that the cultivator and the manufacturer are the primary means of all the wealth that exists in the world, beyond what nature spontaneously produces; when they begin to feel their consequence by their usefulness, and their right as members of society, it is then no longer possible to govern them as before. The fraud once detected cannot be re-acted. To attempt it is to provoke derision, or invite destruction.

That property will ever be unequal is certain. Industry, superiority of talents, dexterity of management, extreme frugality, fortunate opportunities, or the opposite, or the mean of those things, will ever produce that effect without having recourse to the harsh, ill-sounding names of avarice and oppression; and besides this, there are some men who, though they do not despise wealth, will not stoop to the drudgery of the means of acquiring it, nor will be troubled with the care of it, beyond their wants or their independence; whilst in others there is an avidity to obtain it by every means not punishable; it makes the sole business of their lives, and they follow it as a religion. *All that is required with respect to property, is to obtain it honestly, and not employ it criminally; but it is always criminally employed, when it is made a criterion for exclusive rights.*

In institutions that are purely pecuniary, such as that of a bank or a commercial company, the rights of the members composing that company are wholly created by the property they invest therein; and no other rights are represented in the government of that company, than what arise out of that property; neither has that government cognizance of *any thing but property.*

But the case is totally different with respect to the institution of civil government, organized on the system of

representation. Such a government has cognizance of *every thing* and of *every man* as a member of the national society, whether he has property or not; and therefore the principle requires that *every man* and *every kind of right* be represented, of which the right to acquire and to hold property is but one, and that not of the most essential kind. The protection of a man's person is more sacred than the protection of property; and besides this, the faculty of performing any kind of work or service by which he acquires a livelihood, or maintains his family, is of the nature of property. It is property to him; he has acquired it; and it is as much the object of his protection, as exterior property, possessed without that faculty, can be the object of protection to another person.

I have always believed that the best security for property, be it much or little, is to remove from every part of the community, as far as can possibly be done, every cause of complaint, and every motive to violence; and this can only be done by an equality of rights. When rights are secure, property is secure in consequence. But when property is made a pretence for unequal or exclusive rights, it weakens the right to hold the property, and provokes indignation and tumult: for it is unnatural to believe that property can be secure under the guarantee of a society injured in its rights by the influence of that property.

Next to the injustice and ill-policy of making property a pretence for exclusive rights, is the unaccountable absurdity of giving to mere *sound* the idea of property, and annexing to it certain rights; for what else is a *title* but *sound*? Nature is often giving to the world some extraordinary men who arrive at fame by merit and universal consent, such as Aristotle, Socrates, Plato, &c. These were truly great or noble. But when government sets up a manufactory of nobles, it is as absurd, as if she undertook to manufacture wise men. *Her nobles are all counterfeits.*

This wax-work order has assumed the name of aristocracy; and the disgrace of it would be lessened if it could be considered as only childish imbecility. We pardon foppery because of its insignificance, and on the same ground we might pardon the foppery of titles. But the origin of aristocracy was worse than foppery. It was robbery. *The first aristocrates in all countries were brigands.* Those of latter times, sycophants.

It is very well known that in England, (and the same will

be found in other countries) the great landed estates now held in descent were plundered from the quiet inhabitants at the conquest. The possibility did not exist of acquiring such estates honestly. If it be asked how they could have been acquired, no answer but that of robbery can be given. That they were not acquired by trade, by commerce, by manufactures, by agriculture, or by any reputable employment, is certain. How then were they acquired? Blush aristocracy to hear your origin, for your progenitors were thieves. They were the Robespierres and the Jacobins of that day. When they had committed the robbery, they endeavoured to lose the disgrace of it, by sinking their real names under fictitious ones, which they called titles. It is ever the practice of felons to act in this manner.

As property honestly obtained, is best secured by an equality of rights, so ill-gotten property depends for protection on a monopoly of rights. He who has robbed another of his property, will next endeavour to disarm him of his rights, to secure that property; for when the robber becomes the legislator, he believes himself secure. That part of the government of England that is called the House of Lords was originally composed of persons who had committed the robberies of which I have been speaking. It was an association for the protection of the property they had stolen.

But besides the criminality of the origin of aristocracy, it has an injurious effect on the moral and physical character of man. Like slavery, it debilitates the human faculties; for as the mind, bowed down by slavery, loses in silence its elastic powers, so, in the contrary extreme, when it is buoyed up by folly, it becomes incapable of exerting them, and dwindles into imbecility. It is impossible that a mind employed upon ribands and titles can ever be great. The childishness of the objects consumes the man.

It is at all times necessary, and more particularly so during the progress of a revolution, and until right ideas confirm themselves by habit, that we frequently refresh our patriotism by reference to first principles. It is by tracing things to their origin that we learn to understand them; and it is by keeping that line and that origin always in view, that we never forget them.

An enquiry into the origin of rights, will demonstrate to us, that *rights* are not *gifts* from one man to another, nor from one class of men to another; for who is he who could be the first giver? Or by what principle, or on what au-

thority, could he possess the right of giving? A declaration of rights is not a creation of them, nor a donation of them. It is a manifest of the principle by which they exist, followed by a detail of what the rights are; for every civil right has a natural right for its foundation, and it includes the principle of a reciprocal guarantee of those rights from man to man. As therefore, it is impossible to discover any origin of rights otherwise than in the origin of man, it consequently follows, that rights appertain to man in right of his existence only, and must therefore be equal to every man. The principle of an *equality of rights*, is clear and simple. Every man can understand it, and it is by understanding his rights that he learns his duties: for where the rights of men are equal, every man must finally see the necessity of protecting the rights of others as the most effectual security for his own. But if, in the formation of a constitution we depart from the principle of equal rights, or attempt any modification of it, we plunge into a labyrinth of difficulties, from which there is no way out but by retreating. Where are we to stop? Or by what principle are we to find out the point to stop at, that shall discriminate between men of the same country, part of whom shall be free, and the rest not? If property is to be made the criterion, it is a total departure from every moral principle of liberty, because it is attaching rights to mere matter, and making man the agent of that matter. It is moreover holding up property as an apple of discord, and not only exciting but justifying war against it; for I maintain the principle, that when property is used as an instrument to take away the rights of those who may happen not to possess property, it is used to an unlawful purpose, as fire-arms would be in a similar case.

In a state of nature, all men are equal in rights, but they are not equal in power; the weak cannot protect himself against the strong. This being the case, the institution of civil society is for the purpose of making an equalization of powers that shall be parallel to, and a guarantee of the equality of rights. The laws of a country when properly constructed apply to this purpose. Every man takes the arm of the law for his protection as more effectual than his own; and therefore every man has an equal right in the formation of the government and of the laws by which he is to be governed and judged. In extensive countries and societies, such as America and France, this right, in the individual, can only be exercised by dele-

gation, that is, by election and representation; and hence it is that the institution of representative government arises.

Hitherto I have confined myself to matters of principle only. First, that hereditary government has not a right to exist: that it cannot be established on any principle of right; and that it is a violation of all principle. Secondly, that government by election and representation, has its origin in the natural and eternal rights of man; for whether a man be his own law-giver, as he would be in a state of nature; or whether he exercises his portion of legislative sovereignty in his own person, as might be the case in small democracies where all could assemble for the formation of the laws by which they were to be governed; or whether he exercises it in the choice of persons to represent him in a national assembly of representatives, the origin of the right is the same in all cases. The first, as is before observed, is defective in power; the second, is practicable only in democracies of small extent; the third, is the greatest scale upon which human government can be instituted.

Next to matters of *principle*, are matters of *opinion*, and it is necessary to distinguish between the two. Whether the rights of men shall be equal is not a matter of opinion but of right, and consequently of principle; for men do not hold their rights as grants from each other, but each one in right of himself. Society is the guardian but not the giver. And as in extensive societies, such as America and France, the right of the individual, in matters of government, cannot be exercised but by election and representation; it consequently follows that the only system of government, consistent with principle, where simple democracy is impracticable, is the representative system. But as to the organical part, or the manner in which the several parts of government shall be arranged and composed, it is altogether *matter of opinion*. It is necessary that all the parts be conformable with the *principle of equal rights*; and as long as this principle be religiously adhered to, no very material error can take place, neither can any error continue long in that part that falls within the province of opinion.

In all matters of opinion, the social compact, or the principle by which society is held together, requires that the majority of opinions become the rule for the whole, and that the minority yields practical obedience thereto. This is perfectly conformable to the principle of equal rights;

for, in the first place, every man has a *right to give an opinion*, but no man has a right that his opinion should *govern the rest*. In the second place, it is not supposed to be known before-hand on which side of any question, whether for or against, any man's opinion will fall. He may happen to be in a majority upon some questions, and in a minority upon others; and by the same rule that he expects obedience in the one case, he must yield it in the other. All the disorders that have arisen in France, during the progress of the revolution have had their origin, not in the *principle of equal rights*, but in the violation of that principle. The principle of equal rights has been repeatedly violated, and that not by the majority, but by the minority and *that minority has been composed of men possessing property, as well as of men without property; property, therefore, even upon the experience already had, is no more a criterion of character than it is of rights*. It will sometimes happen that the minority are right, and the majority are wrong, but as soon as experience proves this to be the case, the minority will increase to a majority, and the error will reform itself by the tranquil operation of freedom of opinion and equality of rights. Nothing therefore can justify an insurrection, neither can it ever be necessary, where rights are equal and opinions free.

Taking then the principle of equal rights as the foundation of the revolution, and consequently of the constitution, the organical part, or the manner in which the several parts of the government shall be arranged in the constitution, will, as is already said, fall within the province of opinion.

Various methods will present themselves upon a question of this kind; and though experience is yet wanting to determine which is the best, it has, I think sufficiently decided which is the worst. That is the worst, which in its deliberations and decisions is subject to the precipitancy and passion of an individual; and when the whole legislature is crowded into one body, it is an individual in mass. In all cases of deliberation it is necessary to have a corps of reserve, and it would be better to divide the representation by lot into two parts, and let them revise and correct each other, than that the whole should sit together and debate at once.

Representative government is not necessarily confined to any one particular form. The principle is the same in all the forms under which it can be arranged. The equal rights of the people is the root from which the whole

springs, and the branches may be arranged as present opinion or future experience shall best direct. As to that *hospital of incurables*, (as Chesterfield calls it) the British House of Peers, it is an excrescence growing out of corruption; and there is no more affinity or resemblance between any of the branches of a legislative body originating from the rights of the people, and the aforesaid house of peers, than between a regular member of the human body and an ulcerated wen.

As to that part of government that is called the *executive*, it is necessary in the first place to fix a precise meaning to the word.

There are but two divisions into which power can be arranged. First, that of willing or decreeing the laws; secondly, that of executing, or putting them in practice. The former corresponds to the intellectual faculties of the human mind, which reasons and determines what shall be done; the second, to the mechanical powers of the human body, that puts that determination into practice. If the former decides, and the latter does not perform, it is a state of imbecility; and if the latter acts without the pre-determination of the former, it is a state of lunacy. The executive department therefore is official, and is subordinate to the legislative, as the body is to the mind in a state of health; for it is impossible to conceive the idea of two sovereignties, a sovereignty to *will*, and a sovereignty to *act*. The executive is not invested with the power of deliberating whether it shall act or not; it has no discretionary authority in the case; for it can *act no other thing* than what the laws decree, and it is *obliged to act conformably* thereto; and in this view of the case, the executive is made up of all the official departments that execute the laws, of which, that which is called the judiciary is the chief.

But mankind have conceived an idea that *some kind of authority* is necessary to *superintend* the execution of the laws, and to see that they are faithfully performed; and it is by confounding this superintending authority with the official execution, that we get embarrassed about the term *executive power*.—All the parts in the government of the United States of America that are called THE EXECUTIVE, are no other than authorities to superintend the execution of the laws; and they are so far independent of the legislative, that they know the legislative only through the laws and cannot be controuled or directed by it through any other medium.

In what manner this superintending authority shall be appointed or composed, is a matter that falls within the province of opinion. Some may prefer one method, and some another; and in all cases, where opinion only, and not principle, is concerned, the majority of opinions forms the rule for all. There are, however, some things deducible from reason, and evinced by experience, that serve to guide our decision upon the case. The one is, never to invest any individual with extraordinary power; for besides his being tempted to mis-use it, it will excite contention and commotion in the nation for the office. Secondly, never to invest power long in the hands of any number of individuals. The inconveniencies that may be supposed to accompany frequent changes, are less to be feared than the danger that arises from long continuance.

I shall conclude this discourse with offering some observations on the means of *preserving liberty*; for it is not only necessary that we establish it, but that we preserve it.

It is, in the first place, necessary that we distinguish between the means made use of to overthrow despotism, in order to prepare the way for the establishment of liberty, and the means to be used after the despotism is overthrown.

The means made use of in the first case are justified by necessity. Those means are in general, insurrections; for whilst the established government of despotism continues in any country, it is scarcely possible that any other means can be used. It is also certain that in the commencement of a revolution, the revolutionary party permit to themselves a *discretionary exercise of power*, regulated more by circumstances than by principle, which were the practice to continue, liberty would never be established, or if established would soon be overthrown. It is never to be expected in a revolution, that every man is to change his opinion at the same moment. There never yet was any truth or any principle so irresistibly obvious, that all men believed it at once. Time and reason must co-operate with each other to the final establishment of any principle; and therefore those who may happen to be first convinced have no right to persecute others, on whom conviction operates more slowly. The moral principle of revolutions is to instruct; not to destroy.

Had a constitution been established two years ago, (as ought to have been done) the violences that have since desolated France, and injured the character of the revolution, would, in my opinion, have been prevented. The nation

would then have been a bond of union, and every individual would have known the line of conduct he was to follow. But instead of this, a revolutionary government, a thing without either principle or authority, was substituted in its place; virtue and crime depended upon accident; and that which was patriotism one day became treason the next. All these things have followed from the want of a constitution; for it is the nature and intention of a constitution to *prevent governing by party*, by establishing a common principle that shall limit and controul the power and impulse of party, and that says to all parties, **THUS FAR SHALT THOU GO AND NO FARTHER.** But in the absence of a constitution men look entirely to party; and instead of principle governing party, party governs principle.

An avidity to punish is always dangerous to liberty. It leads men to stretch, to misinterpret, and to misapply even the best of laws. He that would make his own liberty secure, must guard even his enemy from oppression; for if he violates this duty, he establishes a precedent that will reach to himself.

THOMAS PAINE.

AGRARIAN JUSTICE

OPPOSED TO

Agrarian Law,

AND TO

AGRARIAN MONOPOLY;

BEING A PLAN FOR

MELIORATING THE CONDITION OF MAN,

BY CREATING IN EVERY NATION

A National Fund,

To pay to every Person, when arrived at the Age of Twenty-one Years, the Sum of Fifteen Pounds Sterling, to enable him, or her, to begin the World.

AND ALSO,

Ten Pounds Sterling per Annum during Life to every Person now living, of the Age of Fifty Years, and to all Others when they shall arrive at that Age, to enable them to live in Old Age without Wretchedness, and go decently out of the World.

BY THOMAS PAINE.

London :

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1819.

PREFACE.

THE following little piece was written in the winter of 1795 and 96; and, as I had not determined whether to publish it during the present war, or to wait till the commencement of a peace, it has lain by me, without addition, from the time it was written.

What has determined me to publish it now is, a Sermon, preached by Watson, Bishop of Llandaff. Some of my readers will recollect, that this Bishop wrote a book, entitled "An Apology for the Bible," in answer to my "Second Part of the Age of Reason." I procured a copy of his book, and he may depend upon hearing from me on that subject.

At the end of the Bishop's book is a list of the works he has written, among which is the Sermon alluded to; it is entitled "The Wisdom and Goodness of God in having made both rich and poor; with an Appendix containing Reflections on the present State of England and France."

The error contained in the title of this Sermon, determined me to publish my *Agrarian Justice*. It is wrong to say that God made *Rich* and *Poor*; he

made only *Male* and *Female*; and he gave them the earth for their inheritance.*

Instead of preaching to encourage one part of mankind in insolence

it would be better that the Priests employed their time to render the condition of man less miserable than it is. Practical Religion consists in doing good; and the only way of serving God is, that of endeavouring to make his creation happy.—All preaching that has not this for its object is nonsense and hypocrisy.

THOMAS PAINE.

* Considerable pains have been taken to procure a perfect copy of this pamphlet, but it does not appear that any such thing was ever printed in England. The publisher is therefore reluctantly compelled to insert the hiatuses, as in the former edition.

AGRARIAN JUSTICE.

To preserve the benefits of what is called civilized life, and to remedy, at the same time, the evils it has produced, ought to be considered as one of the first objects of reformed legislation.

Whether that state that is proudly, perhaps erroneously, called civilization, has most promoted or most injured the general happiness of man, is a question that may be strongly contested. On one side the spectator is dazzled by splendid appearances; on the other he is shocked by extremes of wretchedness; both of which it has created. The most affluent and the most miserable of the human race are to be found in the countries that are called civilized.

To understand what the state of society ought to be, it is necessary to have some idea of the natural and primitive state of man; such as it is at this day among the Indians of North America. There is not, in that state, any of those spectacles of human misery which poverty and want present to our eyes in all the towns and streets in Europe. Poverty, therefore, is a thing created by that which is called civilized life. It exists not in the natural state. On the other hand, the natural state is without those advantages which flow from Agriculture, Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures.

The life of an Indian is a continual holiday, compared with the poor of Europe; and on the other hand, it appears to be abject when compared to the rich. Civilization, therefore, or that which is so called, has operated two ways, to make one part of society more affluent, and the other part more wretched than would have been the lot of either in a natural state.

It is always possible to go from the natural to the civilized state, but it is never possible to go from the civilized to the natural state. The reason is, that man, in a natural state, subsisting by hunting, requires ten times the quantity of land to range over to procure himself sustenance, than would

support him in a civilized state, where the earth is cultivated. When, therefore, a country becomes populous by the additional aids of cultivation, arts, and science, there is a necessity of preserving things in that state; without it, there cannot be sustenance for more, perhaps, than a tenth part of its inhabitants. The thing, therefore, now to be done, is to remedy the evils, and preserve the benefits that have arisen to society, by passing from the natural to that which is called the civilized state.

Taking then the matter upon this ground, the first principle of civilization ought to have been, and ought still to be, that the condition of every person born into the world, after a state of civilization commences, ought not to be worse than if he had been born before that period. But the fact is, that the condition of millions in every country in Europe, is far worse than if they had been born before civilization began, or had been born among the Indians of North America of the present day. I will shew how this fact has happened.

It is a position not to be controverted, that the earth, in its natural uncultivated state, was, and ever would have continued to be, the COMMON PROPERTY OF THE HUMAN RACE. In that state every man would have been born to property. He would have been a joint life-proprietor with the rest in the property of the soil, and in all its natural productions, vegetable and animal.

But the earth in its natural state, as before said, is capable of supporting but a small number of inhabitants compared with what it is capable of doing in a cultivated state. And as it is impossible to separate the improvement made by cultivation, from the earth itself, upon which that improvement is made, the idea of landed property arose from that inseparable connection; but it is nevertheless true, that it is the value of the improvement only, and not the earth itself, that is individual property. Every proprietor, therefore, of cultivated land, owes to the community a *ground-rent*, for I know no better term to express the idea by, for the land which he holds; and it is from this ground-rent that the fund proposed in this plan is to issue.

It is deducible, as well from the nature of the thing, as from all the histories transmitted to us, that the idea of landed property commenced with cultivation, and that there was no such thing as landed property before that time. It could not exist in the first state of man, that of hunters; it

did not exist in the second state, that of shepherds: neither Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, or Job, so far as the history of the Bible may be credited in probable things, were owners of land. Their property consisted, as is always enumerated, in flocks and herds, and they travelled with them from place to place. The frequent contentions at that time about the use of a well in the dry country of Arabia, where those people lived, shew also there was no landed property. It was not admitted that land could be located as property.

There could be no such thing as landed property originally. Man did not make the earth, and though he had a natural right to *occupy* it, he had no right to *locate* as *his property* in perpetuity any part of it; neither did the Creator of the earth open a land-office, from whence the first title-deeds should issue.—From whence then arose the idea of landed property? I answer as before, that when cultivation began, the idea of landed property began with it; from the impossibility of separating the improvement made by cultivation from the earth itself upon which that improvement was made. The value of the improvement so far exceeded the value of the natural earth, at that time as to absorb it; till, in the end, the common right of all became confounded into the cultivated right of the individual. But they are, nevertheless, distinct species of rights, and will continue to be so as long as the world endures.

It is only by tracing things to their origin, that we can gain rightful ideas of them; and it is by gaining such ideas that we discover the boundary that divides right from wrong, and which teaches every man to know his own. I have entitled this tract *Agrarian Justice*, to distinguish it from *Agrarian Law*. Nothing could be more unjust than Agrarian Law in a country improved by cultivation; for though every man as an inhabitant of the earth, is a joint proprietor of it in its natural state, it does not follow that he is a joint proprietor of cultivated earth. The additional value made by cultivation, after the system was admitted, became the property of those who did it, or who inherited it from them, or who purchased it. It had originally an owner. Whilst, therefore, I advocate the right and interest myself in the hard case of all those who have been thrown out of their natural inheritance by the introduction of the system of landed property, I equally defend the right of the possessor to the part which is his.

Cultivation is, at least, one of the greatest natural im-

provements ever made by human invention. It has given to created earth a ten-fold value. But the landed monopoly, that began with it, has produced the greatest evil. It has dispossessed more than half the inhabitants of every nation of their natural inheritance, without providing for them, as ought to have been done, an indemnification for that loss; and has thereby created a species of poverty and wretchedness that did not exist before.

In advocating the case of the persons thus dispossessed, it is a right and not a charity that I am pleading for. But it is that kind of right which, being neglected at first, could not be brought forward afterwards, till heaven had opened the way by a revolution in the system of government. Let us then do honour to revolutions by justice, and give currency to their principles by blessings.

Having thus, in a few words, opened the merits of the case, I proceed to the plan I have to propose, which is,

To create a National Fund, out of which there shall be paid to every person, when arrived at the age of twenty-one years, the sum of Fifteen Pounds sterling, as a compensation in part for the loss of his or her natural inheritance by the introduction of the system of landed property; and also the sum of Ten Pounds per annum, during life, to every person now living of the age of fifty years, and to all others as they shall arrive at that age.

MEANS BY WHICH THE FUND IS TO BE CREATED.

I have already established the principle, namely, that the earth, in its natural uncultivated state, was, and ever would have continued to be, the COMMON PROPERTY OF THE HUMAN RACE.—that in that state every person would have been born to property—and that the system of landed property, by its inseparable connection with cultivation, and with what is called civilized life, has absorbed the property of all those whom it dispossessed, without providing, as ought to have been done, an indemnification for that loss.

The fault, however, is not in the present possessors. No complaint is intended, or ought to be alleged against them, unless they adopt the crime by opposing justice. The fault is in the system, and it has stolen imperceptibly upon the world, aided afterwards by the Agrarian law of the sword. But the fault can be made to reform itself by successive ge-

nerations, without diminishing or deranging the property of any of the present possessors, and yet the operation of the fund can commence, and be in full activity the first year of its establishment, or soon after, as I shall shew.

It is proposed that the payments, as already stated, be made to every person, rich or poor. It is best to make it so, to prevent invidious distinctions. It is also right it should be so, because it is in lieu of the natural inheritance, which, as a right, belongs to every man, over and above the property he may have created or inherited from those who did. Such persons as do not chuse to receive it, can throw it into the common fund.

Taking it then for granted, that no person ought to be in a worse condition when born under what is called a state of civilization, than he would have been, had he been born in a state of nature, and that civilization ought to have made, and ought still to make, provision for that purpose, it can only be done by subtracting from property a portion equal in value to the natural inheritance it has absorbed.

Various methods may be proposed for this purpose, but that which appears to be the best, not only because it will operate without deranging any present possessions, or without interfering with the collection of taxes, or emprunts necessary for the purpose of Government and the Revolution, but because it will be the least troublesome and the most effectual, and also because the subtraction will be made at a time that best admits it, which is, at the moment that property is passing by the death of one person to the possession of another. In this case, the bequeather gives nothing; the receiver pays nothing. The only matter to him is, that the monopoly of natural inheritance, to which there never was a right, begins to cease in his person. A generous man would wish it not to continue, and a just man will rejoice to see it abolished.

My state of health prevents my making sufficient inquiries with respect to the doctrine of probabilities, whereon to found calculations with such degrees of certainty as they are capable of. What, therefore, I offer on this head is more the result of observation and reflection, than of received information; but I believe it will be found to agree sufficiently enough with fact.

In the first place, taking twenty-one years as the epoch of maturity, all the property of a Nation, real and personal, is always in the possession of persons above that age. It is

then necessary to know as a datum of calculation, the average of years which persons above that age will live. I take this average to be about thirty years, for though many persons will live forty, fifty, or sixty years after the age of twenty-one years, others will die much sooner, and some in every year of that time.

Taking, then, thirty years as the average of time, it will give without any material variation, one way or other, the average of time in which the whole property or capital of a Nation, or a sum equal thereto, will have passed through one entire revolution in descent, that is, will have gone by deaths to new possessors; for though, in many instances, some parts of this capital will remain forty, fifty, or sixty years in the possession of one person, other parts will have revolved two or three times before that thirty years expire, which will bring it to that average; for were one half the capital of a Nation to revolve twice in thirty years, it would produce the same fund as if the whole revolved once.

Taking, then, thirty years as the average of time in which the whole capital of a Nation, or a sum equal thereto, will revolve once, the thirtieth part thereof will be the sum that will revolve every year, that is, will go by deaths to new possessors, and this last sum being thus known, and the ratio per cent. to be subtracted from it being determined, will give the annual amount or income of the proposed fund, to be applied as already mentioned.

In looking over the discourse of the English Minister, Pitt, in his opening of what is called in England *the budget*, (the scheme of finance for the year 1796) I find an estimate of the national capital of that country. As this estimate of a national capital is prepared ready to my hand, I take it as a datum to act upon. When a calculation is made upon the known capital of any Nation combined with its population, it will serve as a scale for any other nation, in proportion as its capital and population be more or less. I am the more disposed to take this estimate of Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of shewing to that Minister, upon his own calculation, how much better money may be employed, than in wasting it, as he has done, on the wild project of setting up Bourbon kings. What, in the name of Heaven, are Bourbon kings to the people of England? It is better that the people of England have bread.

Mr. Pitt states the national capital of England, real and personal, to be one thousand three hundred millions sterling, which is about one fourth part of the national capital of

Franco, including Belgia. The event of the last harvest in each country proves that the soil of France is more productive than that of England, and that it can better support twenty four or twenty-five millions of inhabitants than that of England can seven, or seven and a half.

The thirtieth part of this capital of £1,300,000,000 is £43,333,333, which is the part that will revolve every year by deaths in that country to new possessors; and the sum that will annually revolve in France in the proportion of four to one, will be about one hundred and seventy-three millions sterling. From this sum of £43,333,333 annually revolving, is to be subtracted the value of the natural inheritance absorbed in it, which perhaps, in fair justice, cannot be taken at less, and ought not to be taken at more, than a tenth part.

It will always happen, that of the property thus revolving by deaths every year, part will descend in a direct line to sons and daughters, and the other part collaterally, and the proportion will be found to be about three to one; that is, about thirty million of the above sum will descend to direct heirs, and the remaining sum of £13,333,333 to more distant relations, and part to strangers.

Considering then that man is always related to society, that relationship will become comparatively greater in proportion as the next of kin is more distant. It is therefore consistent with civilization, to say, that where there are no direct heirs, society shall be heir to a part over and above the tenth part due to society. If this additional part be from five to ten or twelve per cent. in proportion as the next of kin be nearer or more remote, so as to average with the escheats that may fall, which ought always to go to society and not to the Government, an addition of ten per cent. more, the produce from the annual sum of £43,333,333 will be.

From 30,000,000—at 10 per cent.	3,000,000
From 13,333,333—at 10 per cent. with addition	}
10 per cent. more	
£43,333,333	£5,666,666

Having thus arrived at the annual amount of the proposed fund, I come, in the next place, to speak of the population proportioned to this fund, and to compare it with the uses to which the fund is to be applied.

The population (I mean that of England) does not exceed seven millions and a half, and the number of persons, above the age of fifty will, in that case, be about four hundred thousand. There would not, however, be more than that number that would accept the proposed ten pounds sterling per annum, though they would be entitled to it. I have no idea it would be accepted by many persons who had a yearly income of two or three hundred pounds sterling. But as we often see instances of rich people falling into sudden poverty, even at the age of sixty, they would always have the right of drawing all the arrears due to them.—Four millions, therefore, of the above annual sum of £5,666,666 will be required for four hundred thousand aged persons, at ten pounds sterling each.

I come now to speak of the persons annually arriving at twenty-one years of age. If all the persons who died were above the age of twenty-one years, the number of persons annually arriving at that age, must be equal to the annual number of deaths to keep the population stationary. But the greater part die under the age of twenty-one, and therefore the number of persons annually arriving at twenty-one, will be less than half the number of deaths. The whole number of deaths upon a population of seven millions and a half, will be about 220,000 annually.—The number at twenty-one years of age will be about 100,000. The whole number of these will not receive the proposed fifteen pounds, for the reasons already mentioned, though, as in the former case, they would be entitled to it. Admitting, then, that a tenth part declined receiving it, the amount would stand thus:

Fund annually	£5,666,666	
To 400,000 aged persons, at 10% each	£4,000,000	} 5,350,000
To 90,000 persons of twenty-one years, 15% sterling each	1,350,000	
		<hr/>
	Remains	£ 316,666

There is in every country a number of blind and lame persons, totally incapable of earning a livelihood. But as it will happen that the greater number of blind persons will be among those who are above the age of fifty years, they will be provided for in that class. The remaining sum of

£316,666, will provide for the lame and blind under that age, at the same rate of 10% annually for each person.

Having now gone through all the necessary calculations, and stated the particulars of the plan, I shall conclude with some observations.

It is not charity but a right—not bounty but justice, that I am pleading for. The present state of what is called civilization is It is the reverse of what it ought to be, and The contrast of affluence and wretchedness continually meeting and offending the eye, is like dead and living bodies chained together. Though I care as little about riches as any man, I am a friend to riches, because they are capable of good. I care not how affluent some may be, provided that none be miserable in consequence of it.—But it is impossible to enjoy affluence with the felicity it is capable of being enjoyed, whilst so much misery is mingled in the scene. The sight of the misery, and the unpleasant sensations it suggests, which though they may be suffocated, cannot be extinguished, are a greater drawback upon the felicity of affluence than the proposed ten per cent. upon property is worth. He that would not give the one to get rid of the other, has no charity, even for himself.

There are, in every country, some magnificent charities established by individuals. It is, however, but little that any individual can do when the whole extent of the misery to be relieved is considered. He may satisfy his conscience, but not his heart. He may give all that he has, and that all will relieve but little. It is only by organizing civilization upon such principles as to act like a system of pulleys, that the whole weight of misery can be removed.

The plan here proposed will reach the whole. It will immediately relieve and take out of view three classes of wretchedness; the blind, the lame, and the aged poor. It will furnish the rising generation with means to prevent their becoming poor; and it will do this, without deranging or interfering with any national measures.

To shew that this will be the case, it is sufficient to observe, that the operation and effect of the plan will, in all cases, be the same, as if every individual was *voluntarily* to make his will, and dispose of his property, in the manner here proposed.

But it is justice, and not charity, that is the principle of the plan. In all great cases it is necessary to have a prin-

principle more universally active than charity ; and with respect to justice, it ought not to be left to the choico of detached individuals, whether they will do justice or not. Considering, then, the plan on the ground of justice, it ought to be the act of the whole, growing spontaneously out of the principles of the revolution, and the reputation of it to be national, and not individual.

A plan upon this principle would benefit the revolution by the energy that springs from the consciousness of justice. It would multiply also the national resources ; for property, like vegetation, increases by off-sets. When a young couple begin the world, the difference is exceedingly great, whether they begin with nothing or with fifteen pounds a piece. With this aid they could buy a cow, and implements to cultivate a few acres of land ; and instead of becoming burthens upon society, which is always the case, where children are produced faster than they can be fed, they would be put in the way of becoming useful and profitable citizens. The national domains also would sell the better, if pecuniary aids were provided to cultivate them in small lots.

It is the practice of what has unjustly obtained the name of civilization (and the practice merits not to be called either charity or policy) to make some provision for persons becoming poor and wretched, only at the time they become so.—Would it not, even as a matter of economy, be far better to devise means to prevent their becoming poor? This can best be done by making every person, when arrived at the age of twenty-one years, an inheritor of something to begin with. The rugged face of society, chequered with the extremes of affluence and of want, proves that some extraordinary violence has been committed upon it, and calls on justice for redress. The great mass of the poor, in all countries, are become an hereditary race, and it is next to impossible for them to get out of that state of themselves. It ought also to be observed, that this mass increases in all the countries that are called civilized. More persons fall annually into it, than get out of it.

Though in a plan in which justice and humanity are the foundation principles, interest ought not to be admitted into the calculation, yet it is always of advantage to the establishment of any plan, to shew that it is beneficial as a matter of interest. The success of any proposed plan, submitted to public consideration, must finally depend on the numbers interested in supporting it, united with the justice of its principles.

The plan here proposed will benefit all without injuring any. It will consolidate the interest of the republic with that of the individual. To the numerous class dispossessed of their natural inheritance by the system of landed property, it will be an act of national justice. To persons dying possessed of moderate fortunes, it will operate as a tontine to their children, more beneficial than the sum of money paid into the fund; and it will give to the accumulation of riches a degree of security that none of the old Governments of Europe, now tottering on their foundation, can give.

I do not suppose, that more than one family in ten, in any of the countries of Europe, has, when the head of the family dies, a clear property left of five hundred pounds sterling. To all such the plan is advantageous. That property would pay fifty pounds into the fund, and if there were only two children under age, they would receive fifteen pounds each (thirty pounds) on coming of age, and be entitled to ten pounds a year after fifty. It is from the overgrown acquisition of property that the fund will support itself; and I know that the possessors of such property in England, though they would eventually be benefited by the protection of nine-tenths of it, will exclaim against the plan. But, without entering into any enquiry how they came by that property, let them recollect, that they have been the advocates of this war, and that Mr. Pitt has already laid on more new taxes to be raised annually upon the People of England, and that for supporting the despotism of Austria and the Bourbons, against the liberties of France, than would annually pay all the sums proposed in this plan.

I have made the calculations, stated in this plan, upon what is called personal, as well as upon landed property. The reason for making it upon land is already explained; and the reason for taking personal property into the calculation, is equally well founded, though on a different principle. Land, as before said, is the free gift of the Creator in common to the human race. Personal property is the *effect of Society*; and it is as impossible for an individual to acquire personal property without the aid of Society, as it is for him to make land originally. Separate an individual from society, and give him an island or a continent to possess, and he cannot acquire personal property. He cannot become rich. So inseparably are the means connected with the end, in all cases, that where the former do not exist, the

latter cannot be obtained. All accumulation, therefore, of personal property, beyond what a man's own hands produce, is derived to him by living in society; and he owes, on every principle of justice, of gratitude, and of civilization, a part of that accumulation back again to society from whence the whole came. This is putting the matter on a general principle, and perhaps it is best to do so; for if we examine the case minutely, it will be found, that the accumulation of personal property is, in many instances, the effect of paying too little for the labour that produced it; the consequence of which is, that the working hand perishes in old age, and the employer abounds in affluence. It is, perhaps, impossible to proportion exactly the price of labour to the profits it produces; and it will also be said, as an apology for injustice, that were a workman to receive an increase of wages daily, he would not save it against old age, nor be much the better for it in the interim. Make, then, Society the treasurer to guard it for him in a common fund; for it is no reason that because he might not make a good use of it for himself, that another shall take it.

The state of civilization that has prevailed throughout Europe, is as unjust in its principle, as it is horrid in its effects; and it is the consciousness of this, and the apprehension that such a state cannot continue when once investigation begins in any country, that makes the possessors dread every idea of a revolution. It is the *hazard*, and not the principles of a revolution, that retards their progress. This being the case, it is necessary, as well for the protection of property, as for the sake of justice and humanity, to form a system, that whilst it preserves one part of society from wretchedness, shall secure the other from depredation.

The superstitious awe, the enslaving reverence, that formerly surrounded affluence, is passing away in all countries, and leaving the possessor of property to the convulsion of accidents. When wealth and splendour, instead of fascinating the multitude, excite emotions of disgust; when, instead of drawing forth admiration, it is beheld as an insult upon wretchedness; when the ostentatious appearance it makes serves to call the right of it in question, the case of property becomes critical, and it is only in a system of justice that the possessor can contemplate security.

To remove the danger, it is necessary to remove the antipathies, and this can only be done by making property productive of a national blessing, extending to every indi-

vidual. When the riches of one man above another shall increase the national fund in the same proportion; when it shall be seen that the prosperity of that fund depends on the prosperity of individuals; when the more riches a man acquires, the better it shall be for the general mass; it is then that antipathies will cease, and property be placed on the permanent basis of natural interest and protection.

I have no property in France to become subject to the plan I propose. What I have, which is not much, is in the United States of America. But I will pay one hundred pounds sterling towards this fund in France, the instant it shall be established; and I will pay the same sum in England, whenever a similar establishment shall take place in that country.

A revolution in the state of civilization is the necessary companion of revolutions in the system of government. If a revolution in any country be from bad to good, or from good to bad, the state of what is called civilization in that country, must be made conformable thereto, to give that revolution effect. Despotic Government supports itself by abject civilization, in which debasement of the human mind, and wretchedness in the mass of the people, are the chief criterions. Such Governments consider man merely as an animal; that the exercise of the intellectual faculty is not his privilege; *that he has nothing to do with the laws, but to obey them*;* and they politically depend more upon breaking the spirit of the people by poverty, than they fear enraging it by desperation.

It is a revolution in the state of civilization, that will give perfection to the revolution of France. Already the conviction that Government by representation, is the true system of Government, is spreading itself fast in the world. The reasonableness of it can be seen by all. The justness of it makes itself felt even by its opposers. But when a system of civilization, growing out of that system of government, shall be so organized, that not a man or woman born in the Republic, but shall inherit some means of beginning the world, and see before them the certainty of escaping the miseries, that under other Governments accompany old age, the revolution of France will have an advocate and an ally in the hearts of all nations.

* Expression of Horsley, an English Bishop, in the English Parliament.

An army of principles will penetrate where an army of soldiers cannot --It will succeed where diplomatic management would fail--It is neither the Rhine, the Channel, nor the Ocean, that can arrest its progress--It will march on the horizon of the world, and it will conquer.

THOMAS PAINE.

MEANS FOR CARRYING THE PROPOSED PLAN INTO EXECUTION, AND TO RENDER IT AT THE SAME TIME CONDUCTIVE TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST.

I. Each canton shall elect in its primary assemblies, three persons, as commissioners for that canton, who shall take cognizance, and keep a register of all matters happening in that canton, conformable to the charter that shall be established by law, for carrying this plan into execution.

II. The law shall fix the manner in which the property of deceased persons shall be ascertained.

III. When the amount of the property of any deceased person shall be ascertained, the principal heir to that property, or the eldest of the co-heirs, if of lawful age, or if under age, the person authorized by the will of the deceased to represent him, or them, shall give bond to the commissioners of the canton, to pay the said tenth part thereof within the space of one year, in four equal quarterly payments, or sooner, at the choice of the payers. One half of the whole property shall remain as security until the bond be paid off.

IV. The bonds shall be registered in the office of the commissioners of the canton, and the original bonds shall be deposited in the national bank at Paris. The bank shall publish every quarter of a year the amount of the bonds in its possession, and also the bonds that shall have been paid off, or what parts thereof, since the last quarterly publication.

V. The national bank shall issue bank notes upon the security of the bonds in its possession. The notes so issued shall be applied to pay the pensions of aged persons, and the compensation of persons arriving at twenty-one years of age. It is both reasonable and generous to suppose, that persons not under immediate necessity will suspend their right of drawing on the fund, until it acquire, as it will do,

a greater degree of ability. In this case, it is proposed, that an honorary register be kept in each canton, of the names of the persons thus suspending that right, at least during the present war.

VI. As the inheritors of the property must always take up their bonds in four quarterly payments, or sooner if they chuse, there will always be numeraire arriving at the bank after the expiration of the first quarter, to exchange for the bank notes that shall be brought in.

VII. The bank notes being thus got into circulation, upon the best of all possible security, that of actual property to more than four times the amount of the bonds upon which the notes are issued, and with numeraire continually arriving at the bank to exchange or pay them off whenever they shall be presented for that purpose, they will acquire a permanent value in all parts of the republic. They can therefore be received in payment of taxes or emprunts, equal to numeraire, because the Government can always receive numeraire for them at the bank.

VIII. It will be necessary that the payments of the ten *per cent.* be made in numeraire for the first year, from the establishment of the plan. But after the expiration of the first year, the inheritors of property may pay the ten *per cent.* either in bank notes issued upon the fund, or in numeraire. It will lie as a deposit at the bank, to be exchanged for a quantity of notes equal to that amount; and if in notes issued upon the fund, it will cause a demand upon the fund equal thereto; and thus the operation of the plan will create means to carry itself into execution.

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THE
DECLINE AND FALL
OF THE
ENGLISH SYSTEM
OF
Finance.

BY THOMAS PAINE.

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1819.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

BY JOHN BURNET

THE
DECLINE AND FALL,

§c. §c.

NOTHING, they say, is more certain than death, and nothing more uncertain than the time of dying; yet we can always fix a period beyond which man cannot live, and within some moment of which he will die. We are enabled to do this, not by any spirit of prophecy, or foresight into the event, but by observation of what has happened in all cases of human or animal existence. If, then, any other subject, such, for instance, as a System of Finance, exhibits in its progress, a series of symptoms indicating decay, its final dissolution is certain, and the period of it can be calculated from the symptoms it exhibits.

Those who have hitherto written on the English System of Finance (the Funding System) have been uniformly impressed with the idea of its downfall happening *some time or other*. They took, however, no data for that opinion, but expressed it predictively, or merely as opinion, from a conviction that the perpetual duration of such a system was a natural impossibility. It is in this manner that Doctor Price has spoken of it; and Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, has spoken in the same manner; that is, merely as opinion without data. "The progress (says Smith) of the enormous debts, which at present oppress, and will, in the long run, *most probably ruin* all the great *Nations* in Europe, (he should have said *Governments*) has been pretty uniform." But this general manner of speaking, though it might make some impression, carried with it no conviction.

It is not my intention to predict any thing; but I will shew from data already known, from symptoms and facts which the English funding system has already exhibited publicly, that it will not continue to the end of Mr. Pitt's life, supposing him to live the usual age of a man. How much sooner it may fall, I leave to others to predict.

Let financiers diversify systems of credit as they will, it

is nevertheless true, that every system of credit is a system of paper money. Two experiments have already been had upon paper money; the one in America, the other in France. In both those cases the whole capital was emitted, and that whole capital, which, in America, was called continental money, and in France assignats, appeared in circulation; the consequence of which was, that the quantity became so enormous, and so disproportioned to the quantity of population, and to the quantity of objects upon which it could be employed, that the market, if I may so express it, was glutted with it, and the value of it fell. Between five and six years determined the fate of those experiments. The same fate would have happened to gold and silver, could gold and silver have been issued in the same abundant manner as paper had been, and confined within the country as paper money always is, by having no circulation out of it; or, to speak on a larger scale, the same thing would happen in the world, could the world be glutted with gold and silver, as America and France have been with paper.

The English system differs from that of America and France in this one particular, that its capital is kept out of sight; that is, it does not appear in circulation. Were the whole capital of the National debt, which at the time I write this is almost four hundred million pounds sterling, to be emitted in assignats or bills, and that whole quantity put into circulation, as was done in America and in France, those English assignats, or bills, would sink in value as those of America and France have done; and that in a greater degree, because the quantity of them would be more disproportioned to the quantity of population in England, than was the case in either of the other two countries. A nominal pound sterling in such bills would not be worth one penny.

But though the English system, by thus keeping the capital out of sight, is preserved from hasty destruction, as in the case of America and France, it nevertheless approaches the same fate, and will arrive at it with the same certainty, though by a slower progress. The difference is altogether in the degree of speed by which the two systems approach their fate, which, to speak in round numbers, is as twenty is to one; that is, the English system, that of funding the capital instead of issuing it, contained within itself a capacity of enduring twenty times longer than the system adopted by America and France; and at the end of that time it would arrive at the same common grave, the Potter's field, of paper money.

The datum, I take for this proportion of twenty to one, is the difference between a capital and the interest at five per cent. Twenty times the interest is equal to the capital. The accumulation of paper money in England is in proportion to the accumulation of the interest upon every new loan; and therefore the progress to dissolution is twenty times slower than if the capital were to be emitted and put into circulation immediately. Every twenty years in the English system is equal to one year in the French and American systems.

Having thus stated the duration of the two systems, that of funding upon interest and that of emitting the whole capital without funding, to be as twenty to one, I come to examine the symptoms of decay approaching to dissolution that the English system has already exhibited, and to compare them with similar symptoms in the French and American systems.

The English funding system began one hundred years ago; in which time there have been six wars, including the war that ended in 1697.

1. The war that ended, as I have just said, in 1697.
2. The war that began in 1702.
3. The war that began in 1739.
4. The war that began in 1756.
5. The American war that began in 1775.
6. The present war that began in 1793.

The National debt at the conclusion of the war, which ended in 1697, was twenty-one millions and a half. (See Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, chapter on Public Debts.) We now see it approaching fast to four hundred millions. If between these two extremes of twenty-one millions and four hundred millions, embracing the several expenses of all the including wars, there exists some common ratio that will ascertain arithmetically the amount of the debt at the end of each war, as certainly as the fact is now known to be, that ratio will in like manner determine what the amount of the debt will be in all future wars, and will ascertain the period within which the funding system will expire in a bankruptcy of the Government; for the ratio I allude to is the ratio which the nature of the thing has established for itself.

Hitherto no idea has been entertained that any such ratio existed, or could exist, that could determine a problem of this kind, that is, that could ascertain, without having any knowledge of the fact, what the expense of any former war

had been, or what the expense of any future war would be; but it is nevertheless true that such a ratio does exist, as I shall shew, and also the mode of applying it.

The ratio I allude to is not in arithmetical progression, like the numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; nor yet in geometrical progression, like the numbers 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256; but is in the series of one half upon each preceding number; like the numbers 8, 12, 18, 27, 40, 60, 90, 135.

Any person can perceive that the second number, 12, is produced by the preceding number, 8, and half 8; and that the third number, 18, is in like manner produced by the preceding number, 12, and half 12; and so on for the rest. They can also see how rapidly the sums increase as the ratio proceeds. The difference between the two first numbers is but four; but the difference between the two last is forty-five; and from thence they may see with what immense rapidity the National debt has increased, and will continue to increase, till it exceeds the ordinary power of calculation, and loses itself in cyphers.

I come now to apply the ratio as a rule to determine all the cases.

I began with the war that ended in 1697, which was the war in which the funding system began. The expense of that war was twenty-one millions and a half. In order to ascertain the expense of the next war, I add to 21 millions and a half the half thereof, 10 millions and three quarters, which make thirty-two millions and a quarter for the expense of that war. This thirty-two millions and a quarter, added to the former debt of twenty-one millions and a half, carries the National debt to fifty-three millions and three quarters. Smith, in his chapter on Public Debts, says, the National debt was at this time fifty-three millions.

I proceed to ascertain the expense of the next war, that of 1739, by adding, as in the former case, one half to the expense of the preceding war. The expense of the preceding war was thirty-two millions and a quarter; for the sake of even numbers, say thirty-two millions; the half of which 16, makes forty-eight millions for the expense of that war.

I proceed to ascertain the expense of the war of 1756, by adding, according to the ratio, one half to the expense of the preceding war. The expense of the preceding war was taken at forty-eight millions, the half of which, 24, makes seventy-two millions for the expense of that war. Smith (chapter on Public Debts) says, the expense of the war of 1756, was twenty-two millions and a quarter.

I proceed to ascertain the expense of the American war, of 1775, by adding, as in the former cases, one half to the expense of the preceding war. The expense of the preceding war was 72 millions, the half of which, 36, makes 108 millions for the expense of that war. In the last edition of Smith (chapter on Public Debts) he says the expense of the American war was *more than a hundred millions*.

I come now to ascertain the expense of the present war, supposing it to continue as long as former wars have done, and the funding system not to break up before that period. The expense of the preceding war was 108 millions, the half of which, 54, makes 162 millions for the expense of the present war. It gives symptoms of going beyond this sum, supposing the funding system not to break up; for the loans of the last year and of the present year, are 22 millions each. which exceeds the ratio compared with the loans of the preceding war. It will not be from the inability of procuring loans that the system will break up. On the contrary, it is the facility with which loans can be procured, that hastens that event. The loans are altogether paper transactions; and it is the excess of them that brings on, with accelerating speed, that progressive depreciation of funded paper money that will dissolve the funding system.

I proceed to ascertain the expense of future wars, and I do this merely to shew the impossibility of the continuance of the funding system, and the certainty of its dissolution.

The expense of the next war after the present war, according to the ratio that has ascertained the preceding cases, will be

.....	243,000,000
Expense of the second war..... ..	364,000,000
----- third war	546,000,000
----- fourth war	819,000,000
----- fifth war	1,228,000,000

3,200,000,000

which, at only 4 per cent. will require taxes to the nominal amount of one hundred and twenty-eight millions to pay the annual interest, besides the interest of the present debt, and the expenses of Government, which are not included in this account. Is there a man so mad, so stupid, as to suppose this system can continue?

When I first conceived the idea of seeking for some common ratio that should apply as a rule of measurement to all the cases of the funding system, so far as to ascertain the several stages of its approach to dissolution, I had no expectation that any ratio could be found that would apply

with so much exactness as this does. I was led to the idea merely by observing that the funding system was a thing in continual progression, and that whatever was in a state of progression, might be supposed to admit of, at least, some general ratio or measurement, that would apply without any very great variation. But who could have supposed that falling systems, or falling opinions, admitted of a ratio apparently as true as the descent of falling bodies? I have not *made* the ratio, any more than Newton made the ratio of gravitation. I have only discovered it, and explained the mode of applying it.

To shew at one view the rapid progression of the funding system to destruction, and to expose the folly of those who blindly believe in its continuance, or who artfully endeavour to impose that belief upon others, I exhibit in the annexed table, the expense of each of the six wars since the funding system began, as ascertained by the ratio, and the expense of six wars yet to come, ascertained by the same ratio.

<i>First Six Wars.</i>		<i>Second Six Wars.</i>	
1	21,000,000	1	243,000,000
2	33,000,000	2	364,000,000
3	48,000,000	3	546,000,000
4	72,000,000*	4	819,000,000
5	108,000,000	5	1,228,000,000
6	162,000,000	6	1,842,000,000
Total ... 444,000,000		Total ... 5,042,000,000	

Those who are acquainted with the power with which even a small ratio, acting in progression, multiplies in a long

* The actual expense of the war of 1739 did not come up to the sum ascertained by the ratio. But as that which is the natural disposition of a thing, as it is the natural disposition of a stream of water to descend, will, if impeded in its course, overcome by a new effort what it had lost by that impediment, so it was with respect to this war and the next (1756) taken collectively; for the expense of the war of 1756 restored the equilibrium of the ratio, as fully as if it had not been impeded. A circumstance that serves to prove the truth of the ratio more fully than if the interruption had not taken place. The war of 1739 was languid: the efforts were below the value of money at that time; for the ratio is the measure of the depreciation of money in consequence of the funding system; or, what comes to the same end, it is the measure of the increase of paper. Every additional quantity of it, whether in Bank notes or otherwise, diminishes the *real*, though not the *nominal*, value of the former quantity.

series, will see nothing to wonder at in this table. Those who are not acquainted with that subject, and not knowing what else to say, may be inclined to deny it. But it is not their opinion one way, nor mine the other, that can influence the event. The table exhibits the natural march of the funding system to its irredeemable dissolution. Supposing the present Government of England to continue, and go on as it has gone on since the funding system began, I would not give twenty shillings for one hundred pounds in the funds to be paid twenty years hence. I do not speak this predictively; I produce the data upon which that belief is founded; and which data it is every body's interest to know, who have any thing to do with the funds, or who are going to bequeath property to their descendants, to be paid at a future day.

Perhaps it may be asked, that, as Governments or Ministers proceeded by no ratio in making loans or incurring debts, and as nobody intended any ratio, or thought of any, how does it happen that there is one? I answer that the ratio is founded in necessity, and I now go to explain what that necessity is.

It will always happen that the price of labour, or of the produce of labour, be that produce what it may, will be in proportion to the quantity of money in a country, admitting things to take their natural course. Before the invention of the funding system, there was no other money than gold and silver: and as nature gives out those metals with a sparing hand, and in regular annual quantities from the mines, the several prices of things were proportioned to the quantity of money at that time, and so nearly stationary as to vary but little in any fifty or sixty years of that period.

When the funding system began, a substitute for gold and silver began also. That substitute was paper; and the quantity of it increased as the quantity of interest increased upon accumulated loans. This appearance of a new and additional species of money in the Nation soon began to break the relative value which money and the things it will purchase bore to each other before. Every thing rose in price; but the rise at first was little and slow, like the difference in units between the two first numbers, 8 and 12, compared with the two last numbers, 90 and 135, in the tables. It was, however, sufficient to make itself considerably felt in a large transaction. When, therefore, Government, by engaging in a new war, required a new loan, it was obliged to make a higher loan than the former loan, to balance the in-

creased price to which things had risen; and as that new loan increased the quantity of paper in proportion to the new quantity of interest, it carried the price of things still higher than before. The next loan was again higher, to balance that further increased price; and all this in the same manner, though not in the same degree, that every new emission of continental money in America, or of assignats in France, were greater than the preceding emission, to make head against the advance of prices, till the combat could be maintained no longer. Herein is founded the necessity of which I have just spoken. That necessity proceeds with accelerating velocity, and the ratio I have laid down is the measure of that acceleration; or, to speak the technical language of the subject, it is the measure of the increasing depreciation of funded paper-money, which it is impossible to prevent, while the quantity of that money and of Bank notes continues to multiply. What else but this can account for the difference between one war costing 21 millions, and another war costing 160 millions?

The difference cannot be accounted for on the score of extraordinary efforts or extraordinary achievements. The war that cost 21 millions was the war of the confederates, historically called the Grand Alliance, consisting of England, Austria, and Holland, in the time of William the Third, against Louis the Fourteenth, and in which the confederates were victorious. The present is a war of a much greater confederacy—a confederacy of England, Austria, Prussia, the German Empire, Spain, Holland, Naples, and Sardinia, eight powers against the French Republic singly, and the Republic has beaten the whole confederacy.—But to return to my subject—

It is said in England, that the value of paper keeps equal with the value of gold and silver. But the case is not rightly stated; for the fact is, that the paper has *pulled down* the value of gold and silver to a level with itself. Gold and silver will not purchase so much of any purchaseable article at this day as if no paper had appeared, nor so much as it will in any country in Europe where there is no paper. How long this hanging together of money and paper will continue, makes a new case; because it daily exposes the system to sudden death, independent of the natural death it would otherwise suffer.

I consider the funding system as being now advanced into the last twenty years of its existence. The single circumstance, were there no other, that a war should now cost

nominally one hundred and sixty millions, which when the system began cost but 21 millions, or that the loan for one year only (including the loan to the Emperor) should now be *nominally* greater than the whole expense of that war, shews the state of depreciation to which the funding system has arrived. Its depreciation is in the proportion of eight for one, compared with the value of its money when the system began, which is the state the French assignats stood in a year ago (March, 1795) compared with gold and silver. It is therefore that I say, that the English funding system, has entered into the last twenty years of its existence, comparing each twenty years of the English system with every single year of the American and French systems, as before stated.

Again, supposing the present war to close as former wars have done, and without producing either revolution or reform in England, another war, at least, must be looked for in the space of the twenty years I allude to; for it has never yet happened that twenty years have passed off without a war, and that more especially since the English Government has dabbled in German politics, and shewn a disposition to insult the world, and to engress the commerce of the world with her navy. The next war will carry the National debt to very nearly seven-hundred millions, the interest of which, at four per cent. will be twenty-eight millions, besides the taxes for the then expenses of Government, which will increase in the same proportion, and which will carry the taxes to at least forty millions: and if another war only begins, it will quickly carry them to above fifty: for it is in the last twenty years of the funding system, as in the last year of the American and French systems without funding, that all the great shocks began to operate.

I have just mentioned that paper, in England, has *pulled down* the value of gold and silver to a level with itself; and that this *pulling down* of gold and silver money has created the appearance of paper money keeping up. The same thing, and the same mistake, took place in America and in France, and continued for a considerable time after the commencement of their system of paper; and the actual depreciation of money was hidden under that mistake.

It was said in America, at that time, that every thing was becoming *dear*; but gold and silver could then buy those dear articles no cheaper than paper could; and therefore it was not called depreciation. The idea of *dearness* established itself for the idea of depreciation. The same was

the case in France. Though every thing rose in price soon after assignats appeared, yet those dear articles could be purchased no cheaper with gold and silver than with paper, and it was only said that things were *dear*. The same is still the language in England. They call it *dearness*. But they will soon find that it is in an actual depreciation, and that this depreciation is the effect of the funding system; which, by crowding such a continually increasing mass of paper into circulation, carries down the value of gold and silver with it. But gold and silver will, in the long run, revolt against depreciation, and separate from the value of paper; for the progress of all such systems appears to be, that the paper will take the command in the beginning, and gold and silver in the end.

But this succession in the command of gold and silver over paper, makes a crisis far more eventful to the funding system than to any other system upon which paper can be issued: for, strictly speaking, it is not a crisis of danger, but a symptom of death. It is a death stroke to the funding system. It is a revolution in the whole of its affairs.

If paper be issued without being funded upon interest, emissions of it can be continued after the value of it separates from gold and silver, as we have seen in the two cases of America and France. But the funding system rests altogether upon the value of paper being equal to gold and silver; which will be as long as the paper can continue carrying down the value of gold and silver to the same level to which itself descends, and no longer. But even in this state, that of descending equally together, the Minister, whoever he may be, will find himself beset with accumulating difficulties; because the loans and taxes voted for the service of each ensuing year will wither in his hands before the year expires, or before they can be applied. This will force him to have recourse to emissions of what are called *Exchequer and Navy bills*, which, by still increasing the mass of paper in circulation, will drive on the depreciation still more rapidly.

It ought to be known, that taxes in England are not paid in gold and silver, but in paper (Bank notes). Every person who pays any considerable quantity of taxes, such as maltsters, brewers, distillers, (I appeal for the truth of it to any of the collectors of excise in England, or to Mr. Whitbread) knows this to be the case. There is not gold and silver enough in the Nation to pay the taxes in coin, as I shall shew; and, consequently, there is not money enough in the

Bank to pay the notes. The interest of the National funded debt is paid at the Bank in the same kind of paper in which the taxes are collected. When people find, as they will find, a reservedness among each other in giving gold and silver for Bank notes, or the least preference for the former over the latter, they will go for payment to the Bank, where they have a right to go. They will do this as a measure of prudence, each one for himself, and the truth or delusion of the funding system will then be proved.

I have said in the foregoing paragraph that there is not gold and silver enough in the Nation to pay the taxes in coin, and consequently that there cannot be enough in the Bank to pay the notes. As I do not choose to rest any thing upon assertion, I appeal for the truth of this to the publications of Mr. Eden (now called Lord Auckland) and George Chalmers, Secretary to the Board of Trade and Plantation, of which Jenkinson (now called Lord Hawkesbury) is president. (*This sort of folks change their names so often, that it is as difficult to know them as it is to know a thief.*) Chalmers gives the quantity of gold and silver coin from the returns of coinage at the mint; and, after deducting for the light gold recoined, says, that the amount of gold and silver coin is *about twenty millions*. He had better not have proved this, especially if he had reflected, that public credit is *suspicion asleep*. The quantity is much too little.

Of this twenty millions (which is not a fourth part of the quantity of gold and silver there is in France, as is shewn in M. Neckar's Treatise on the Administration of the Finances) three millions at least must be supposed to be in Ireland, some in Scotland, and in the West Indies, Newfoundland, &c. The quantity, therefore, in England cannot be more than 16 millions, which is four millions less than the amount of the taxes. But admitting there to be 16 millions, not more than a fourth part thereof (four millions) can be in London, when it is considered, that every city, town, village, and farm house in the Nation must have a part of it; and that all the great manufactories, which most require cash, are out of London. Of this four millions in London, every banker, merchant, tradesman, in short, every individual must have some. He must be a poor shopkeeper indeed, who has not a few guineas in his till. The quantity of cash, therefore, in the Bank can never, on the evidence of circumstances, be so much as two millions: most probably not more than one million; and on this slender twig, always liable to be broken, hangs the whole funding system of four

hundred millions, besides many millions in Bank notes. The sum in the Bank is not sufficient to pay one fourth of only one year's interest of the National debt, were the creditors to demand payment in cash, or to demand cash for the Bank notes in which the interest is paid : a circumstance always liable to happen.

One of the amusements that have kept up the farce of the funding system is, that the interest is regularly paid. But as the interest is always paid in Bank notes, and as Bank notes can always be coined for the purpose, this mode of payment proves nothing. The point of proof is—can the Bank give cash for the Bank notes on which the interest is paid? If it cannot, and it is evident it cannot, some millions of Bank notes must go without payment, and those holders of Bank notes who apply last will be worst off. When the present quantity of cash in the Bank shall be paid away, it is next to impossible to see how any new quantity is to arrive. None will arrive from taxes, for the taxes will all be paid in Bank notes; and should the Government refuse Bank notes in payment of taxes, the credit of Bank notes will be gone at once. No cash will arrive from the business of discounting merchants' bills; for every merchant will pay off those bills in Bank notes, and not in cash. There is therefore no means left for the Bank to obtain a new supply of cash, after the present quantity be paid away. But, besides the impossibility of paying the interest of the funded debt in cash, there are many thousand persons in London and in the country, who are holders of Bank notes that came into their hands in the fair way of trade, and who are not stockholders in the funds; and as such persons have had no hand in increasing the demand upon the Bank, as those have had who, for their own private interest, like Boyd and others, are contracting, or pretending to contract, for new loans, they will conceive they have a just right their Bank notes should be paid first. Boyd has been very sly in France, in changing his paper into cash. He will just be as sly in doing the same thing in London; for he has learned to calculate: and then it is probable he will set off for America.

A stoppage of payment at the Bank is not a new thing. Smith, in his *Wealth of Nations*, book ii. ch. 2, says that in the year 1696, Exchequer bills fell forty, fifty, and sixty per cent.; Bank notes twenty per cent.; and the Bank stopped payment.—That which happened in 1696 may happen again in 1796. The period in which it happened was the last year of the war of King William. It necessarily put a stop to

the further emission of exchequer and navy bills, and to the raising of new loans; and the peace which took place the next year was probably hurried on by this circumstance, and saved the Bank from bankruptcy. Smith, in speaking of the circumstances of the Bank, upon another occasion, says (book ii. chap. 3,)—"This great company has been reduced to the necessity of paying in sixpences." When a bank adopts the expedient of paying in sixpences, it is a confession of insolvency.

It is worthy of observation, that every case of a failure in finances, since the system of paper began, has produced a revolution in government, either total or partial. A failure in the finances of France produced the French revolution. A failure in the finance of the assignats broke up the revolutionary government, and produced the present French Constitution. A failure in the finances of the old Congress of America, and the embarrassments it brought upon commerce, broke up the system of the old confederation, and produced the present federal constitution. If, then, we admit of reasoning by comparison of causes and events, a failure in the English finances will produce some change in the government of that country.

As to Mr. Pitt's project of paying off the national debt by applying a million a year for that purpose, while he continues adding more than twenty millions a year to it, it is like setting a man with a wooden leg to run after a hare. The longer he runs the farther he is off.

When I said that the funding system had entered the last twenty years of its existence, I certainly did not mean that it would continue twenty years, and then expire as a lease would do. I meant to describe that age of decrepitude in which death is every day to be expected, and life cannot continue long. But the death of credit, or that state that is called bankruptcy, is not always marked by those progressive stages of visible decline, that mark the decline of natural life. In the progression of natural life, age cannot counterfeit youth, nor conceal the departure of juvenile abilities. But it is otherwise with respect to the death of credit; for though all the approaches to bankruptcy may actually exist in circumstances, they admit of being concealed by appearances. Nothing is more common than to see the bankrupt of to day a man of credit but the day before; yet no sooner is the real state of his affairs known, than every body can see he had been insolvent long before. In London, the

greatest theatre of bankruptcy in Europe, this part of the subject will be well and feelingly understood.

Mr. Pitt continually talks of credit and of the national resources. These are two of the feigned appearances by which the approaches to bankruptcy are concealed. That which he calls credit may exist, as I have just shewn, in a state of insolvency, and is always what I have before described it to be, *suspicion asleep*.

As to the national resources, Mr. Pitt, like all the English financiers that preceded him since the funding system began, has uniformly mistaken the nature of a resource; that is, they have mistaken it consistently with the delusion of the funding system; but time is explaining the delusion. That which he calls, and which they call a resource, is not a resource, but is the *anticipation* of a resource. They have anticipated what *would have been* a resource in another generation, had not the use of it been so anticipated. The funding system is a system of anticipation. Those who established it a hundred years ago, anticipated the resources of those who were to live a hundred years after; for the people of the present day have to pay the interest of the debt contracted at that time, and of all debts contracted since. But it is the last feather that breaks the horse's back. Had the system began a hundred years before, the amount of taxes at this time to pay the annual interest at four per cent. (could we suppose such a system of insanity could have continued) would be two hundred and twenty millions annually; for the capital of the debt would be five thousand four hundred and eighty-six millions, according to the ratio that ascertains the expense of the wars for the hundred years that are past. But long before it could have reached this period, the value of Bank notes, from the immense quantity of them, (for it is in paper only that such a nominal revenue could be collected) would have been as low or lower than continental paper money has been in America, or assignats in France; and as to the idea of exchanging them for gold and silver, it is too absurd to be contradicted.

Do we not see that nature, in all her operations, disowns the visionary basis upon which the funding system is built? She acts always by renewed successions, and never by accumulating additions perpetually progressing. Animals and vegetables, men and trees, have existed ever since the world began; but that existence has been carried on by succession of generations, and not by continuing the same men

and the same trees in existence that existed first; and to make room for the new she removes the old. Every natural idiot can see this. It is the stock-jobbing idiot only that mistakes. He has conceived that art can do what nature cannot. He is teaching her a new system—that there is no occasion for man to die—that the scheme of creation can be carried on upon the plan of the funding system—that it can proceed by continual additions of new beings, like new loans, and all live together in eternal youth. Go, count the graves, thou idiot, and learn the folly of thy arithmetic!

But besides these things, there is something visibly farcical in the whole operation of loaning. It is scarcely more than four years ago, that such a rot of bankruptcy spread itself over London, that the whole commercial fabric tottered; trade and credit were at a stand; and such was the state of things, that to prevent, or suspend, a general bankruptcy, the Government lent the merchants six millions in *Government* paper, and now the merchants lend the Government twenty-two millions in *their* paper; and two parties, Boyd and Morgan, men but little known, contend who shall be the lenders. What a farce is this! It reduces the operation of loaning to accommodation paper, in which the competitors contend, not who shall lend, but who shall sign, because there is something to be got for signing.

Every English stock-jobber and Minister boasts of the credit of England. Its credit, say they, is greater than that of any country in Europe. There is a good reason for this; for there is not another country in Europe that could be made the dupe of such a delusion. The English funding system will remain a monument of wonder, not so much on account of the extent to which it has been carried, as of the folly of believing in it.

Those who had formerly predicted that the funding system would break up when the debt amounted to one hundred or one hundred and fifty millions, erred only in not distinguishing between insolvency and actual bankruptcy; for the insolvency commenced as soon as the Government became unable to pay the interest in cash, or to give cash for the Bank notes in which the interest was paid, whether that inability was known or not, or whether it was suspected or not. Insolvency always takes place before bankruptcy; for bankruptcy is nothing more than the publication of that insolvency. In the affairs of an individual it often happens, that insolvency exists several years before bankruptcy, and that the insolvency is concealed and carried on

till the individual is not able to pay 1s. in the pound. A Government can ward off bankruptcy longer than an individual; but insolvency will inevitably produce bankruptcy, whether in an individual or in a Government. If then the quantity of Bank notes payable on demand, which the Bank has issued, are greater than the Bank can pay off, the Bank is insolvent; and when that insolvency be declared, it is bankruptcy.*

* Among the delusions that have been imposed upon the Nation by Ministers, to give a false colouring to its affairs, and by none more than by Mr. Pitt, is a motley, amphibious charactered thing called the *balance of trade*. This balance of trade, as it is called, is taken from the Custom House books, in which entries are made of all cargoes exported, and also of all cargoes imported, in each year; and when the value of the exports, according to the price set upon them by the exporter or by the Custom House, is greater than the value of the imports, estimated in the same manner, they say, the balance of trade is so much in their favour.

The Custom House books prove regularly enough that so many cargoes have been exported, and so many imported; but this is all that they prove, or were intended to prove. They have nothing to do with the balance of profit or loss; and it is ignorance to appeal to them upon that account: for the case is, that the greater the loss is in any one year, the higher will this thing called the balance of trade appear to be according to the Custom House books. For example, nearly the whole of the Mediterranean convoy has been taken by the French this year; consequently those cargoes will not appear as imports on the Custom House books, and therefore the balance of trade, by which they mean the profits of it, will appear to be so much the greater as the loss amounts to; and on the other hand, had the loss not happened, the profits would have appeared to have been so much the less. All the losses happening at sea to returning cargoes, by accidents, by the elements, or by capture, make the balance appear the higher on the side of the exports; and, were they all lost at sea, it would appear to be all profit on the Custom House books.—Also every cargo of exports that is lost that occasions another to be sent, adds in like manner to the side of the exports, and appears as profit. This year the balance of trade will appear high, because the losses have been great by capture and by storms. The ignorance of the British Parliament, in listening to this hacknied imposition of Ministers about the balance of trade, is astonishing. It shews how little they know of National affairs; and Mr. Grey may as well talk Greek to them, as make motions about the state of the Nation. They understand fox-hunting and the game-laws.

I come now to shew the several ways by which Bank notes get into circulation. I shall afterwards offer an estimate on the total quantity or amount of Bank notes existing at this moment.

The Bank acts in three capacities. As a bank of discount; as a bank of deposit; and as a banker for the Government.

First, as a bank of discount. The Bank discounts merchants' bills of exchange for two months. When a merchant has a bill that will become due at the end of two months, and wants payment before that time, the Bank advances that payment to him, deducting therefrom at the rate of five per cent. per annum. The bill of exchange remains at the Bank as a pledge or pawn, and at the end of two months must be redeemed. This transaction is done altogether in paper; for the profits of the Bank, as a bank of discount, arise entirely from its making use of paper as money. The Bank gives Bank notes to the merchant in discounting the bill of exchange, and the redeemer of the bill pays Bank notes to the Bank in redeeming it. It very seldom happens that any real money passes between them.

If the profits of a bank be, for example, two hundred thousand pounds a year, (a great sum to be made merely by exchanging one sort of paper for another, and which shews also that the merchants of that place are pressed for money for payments, instead of having money to spare to lend to Government,) it proves that the Bank discounts to the amount of four millions annually, or £666,666 every two months; and as there never remains in the Bank more than two months pledges, of the value of £666,666 at any one time, the amount of Bank notes in circulation at any one time should not be more than to that amount. This is sufficient to shew that the present immense quantity of Bank notes, which are distributed through every city, town, village, and farm-house, in England, cannot be accounted for on the score of discounting.

Secondly, as a bank of deposit. To deposit money at the Bank means to lodge it there for the sake of convenience, and to be drawn out at any moment the depositor pleases, or to be paid away to his order. When the business of discounting is great, that of depositing is necessarily small. No man deposits and applies for discounts at the same time; for it would be like paying interest for lending money, instead of for borrowing it. The deposits that are now made

at the Bank, are almost entirely in Bank notes, and consequently they add nothing to the ability of the Bank to pay off the Bank notes that may be presented for payment; and besides this, the deposits are no more the property of the Bank, than the cash or Bank notes in a merchant's counting-house, are the property of his book-keeper. No great increase, therefore, of Bank notes, beyond what the discounting business admits, can be accounted for on the score of deposits.

Thirdly, the Bank acts as banker for the Government. This is the connection that threatens ruin to every public bank. It is through this connection that the credit of a bank is forced far beyond what it ought to be, and still further beyond its ability to pay. It is through this connection that such an immense redundant quantity of Bank notes have gotten into circulation; and which, instead of being issued because there was property in the Bank, have been issued because there was none.

When the treasury is empty, which happens in almost every year of every war, its coffers at the Bank are empty also. It is in this condition of emptiness, that the Minister has recourse to emissions of what are called Exchequer and Navy bills, which continually generates a new increase of Bank notes, and which are sported upon the public without there being property in the Bank to pay them.—These Exchequer and Navy bills (being, as I have before said, emitted because the Treasury and its coffers at the Bank are empty, and cannot pay the demands that come in) are no other than an acknowledgement that the bearer is entitled to receive so much money. They may be compared to the settlement of an account, in which the debtor acknowledges the balance he owes, and for which he gives a note of hand; or to a note of hand given to raise money upon it.

Sometimes the Bank discounts those bills as it would discount merchants bills of exchange; sometimes it purchases them of the holders at the current price; and sometimes it agrees with the Minister to pay an interest upon them to the holders, and keep them in circulation. In every one of those cases an additional quantity of Bank notes get into circulation, and are sported, as I have said, upon the public, without there being property in the Bank, as banker for the Government, to pay them: and besides this, the Bank has now no money of its own; for the money that was originally subscribed to begin the credit of the Bank with, at its first

establishment, has been lent to Government, and wasted long ago.

“The Bank (says Smith, book ii. chap. 2,) acts not only as an ordinary bank, but as an engine of state; it receives and pays the greater part of the annuities which are due to the creditors of the *public*.” (It is worth observing, that the *public*, or the *Nation*, is always put for the Government in speaking of debts.) “It circulates (says Smith) exchequer bills, and it advances to Government the annual amount of the land and malt taxes, which are frequently not paid till several years afterwards.” (This advancement is also done in Bank notes, for which there is not property in the Bank.) “In those different operations (says Smith) *its duty to the public* may sometimes have obliged it, without any fault of its directors, *to overstock the circulation with paper money,*” —Bank notes. How *its duty to the public* can induce it to *overstock that public* with promissory Bank notes, which it *cannot pay*, and thereby expose the individuals of that public to ruin, is too paradoxical to be explained; for it is on the credit which individuals *give to the Bank*, by receiving and circulating its notes, and not upon its *own* credit, or its *own* property, for it has none, that the Bank sports. If, however, it be the duty of the Bank to expose the public to this hazard, it is at least equally the duty of the individuals of that public, to get their money and take care of themselves; and leave it to placemen, pensioners, Government contractors, Reeves’s Association, and the Members of both Houses of Parliament, who have voted away the money at the nod of the Minister, to continue the credit if they can, and for which their estates, individually and collectively, ought to answer, as far as they will go.

There has always existed, and still exists, a mysterious, suspicious connection, between the Minister and the directors of the Bank, and which explains itself no otherwise than by a continual increase of Bank notes. Without, therefore, entering into any further details of the various contrivances by which Bank notes are issued, and thrown upon the public, I proceed, as I before mentioned, to offer an estimate on the total quantity of Bank notes in circulation.

However disposed Governments may be to wring money by taxes from the people, there is a limit to the practice established in the nature of things. That limit is the proportion between the quantity of money in a Nation, be that quantity of money what it may, and the greatest quantity of

taxes that can be raised upon it. People have other uses for money besides paying taxes; and it is only a proportional part of that money they can spare for taxes, as it is only a proportional part they can spare for house-rent, for clothing, or for any other particular use. These proportions find out and establish themselves; and that with such exactness, that if any one part exceeds its proportion, all the other parts feel it.

Before the invention of paper money, (Bank notes) there was no other money in the Nation than gold and silver, and the greatest quantity of money that ever was raised in taxes during that period, never exceeded a fourth part of the quantity of money in the Nation. It was high taxing when it come to this point. The taxes in the time of William the Third never reached to four millions before the invention of paper, and the quantity of money in the Nation at that time was estimated to be about sixteen millions. The same proportions established themselves in France. There was no paper money in France before the present Revolution, and the taxes were collected in gold and silver money. The highest quantity of taxes never exceeded twenty-two millions sterling; and the quantity of gold and silver money in the Nation at the same time, as stated by M. Neckar, from returns of coinage at the mints, in his Treatise on the Administration of the Finances, was about ninety millions sterling. To go beyond this limit of a fourth part in England, they were obliged to introduce paper money; and the attempts to go beyond it in France, where paper could not be introduced, broke up the Government. This proportion, therefore, of a fourth part, is the limit which the nature of the thing establishes for itself, be the quantity of money in a Nation more or less.

The amount of taxes in England at this time is full twenty millions; and therefore the quantity of gold and silver, and of Bank notes, taken together, amounts to eighty millions. The quantity of gold and silver, as stated by Lord Hawkesbury's secretary, (George Chalmers) as I have before shewn, is twenty millions, and therefore the total amount in circulation, all made payable on demand, is sixty millions. This enormous sum will astonish the most stupid stock-jobber, and overpower the credulity of the most thoughtless Englishman: but were it only a third part of that sum, the Bank cannot pay half-a-crown in the pound.

There is something curious in the movements of this

modern complicated machine, the funding system; and it is only now that it is beginning to unfold the full extent of its movements. In the first part of its movements it gives great powers into the hands of Government, and in the last part it takes them completely away.

The funding system set out with raising revenues under the name of loans, by means of which, Government became both prodigal and powerful. The loaners assumed the name of creditors, and though it was soon discovered that loaning was Government jobbing, those pretended loaners, or the persons who purchased into the funds afterwards, conceived themselves not only to be creditors, but to be the *only* creditors.

But such has been the operation of the complicated machine, the funding system, that it has produced, unperceived, a second generation of creditors, more numerous and far more formidable, and withal, more real than the first generation; for every holder of a Bank note is a creditor, and a real creditor, and the debt due to him is made payable on demand. The debt, therefore, which the Government owes to individuals, is composed of two parts; the one about four hundred millions bearing interest, the other about sixty millions payable on demand. The one is called the funded debt, the other is the debt due in Bank notes.

This second debt (that contained in the Bank notes) has in a great measure been incurred to pay the interest of the first debt; so that, in fact, little or no real interest has been paid by Government. The whole has been delusion and fraud. Government at first contracted a debt in the form of loans with one class of people, and then run clandestinely into debt with another class, by means of Bank notes, to pay the interest. Government acted of itself in contracting the first debt, and made a machine of the Bank to contract the second.

It is this second debt that changes the seat of power, and the order of things: for it puts it in the power of even a small part of the holders of Bank notes, (had they no other motive than disgust at Pitt and Grenville's sedition bills) to control any measure of Government they found to be injurious to their interest; and that not by popular meetings, or popular societies, but by the simple and easy operation of withholding their credit from that Government; that is, by individually demanding payment at the Bank for every

Bank note that comes into their hands. Why should Pitt and Grenville expect that the very men whom they insult and injure, should at the same time continue to support the measures of Pitt and Grenville, by giving credit to their promissory notes of payment? No new emission of Bank notes could go on while payment was demanding on the old, and the cash in the Bank wasting daily away; nor any new advances be made to Government or to the Emperor, to carry on the war; nor any new emission be made of exchequer bills.

“*The Bank*,” says Smith (book ii. chap. 2.) “*is a great engine of State.*” And, in the same paragraph, he says, “*The stability of the Bank, is equal to that of the British Government;*” which is the same as to say, that the stability of the Government is equal to that of the Bank, and no more. If then the Bank cannot pay, the *Arch-Treasurer of the Holy Roman Empire* (S. R. I. A.*) is a bankrupt. When Folly invented titles, she did not attend to their application; for ever since the Government of England has been in the hands of *arch-treasurers*, it has been running into bankruptcy; and as to the arch-treasurer *apparent* he has been a bankrupt long ago. What a miserable prospect has England before its eyes!

Before the war of 1775 there were no Bank notes lower than twenty pounds. During that war Bank notes of fifteen pounds and ten pounds were coined; and now, since the commencement of the present war, they are coined as low as five pounds. These five pound notes will circulate chiefly among little shop-keepers, butchers, bakers, market people, renters of small houses, lodgers, &c. All the high departments of commerce, and the affluent stations of life were already *overstocked*, as Smith expresses it, with the Bank notes. No place remained open wherein to crowd an additional quantity of Bank notes but among the class of people I have just mentioned, and the means of doing this could be best effected by coining five pound notes. This conduct has the appearance of that of an unprincipled insolvent, who, when on the verge of bankruptcy to the amount of many thousands, will borrow as low as five pounds of the servants in his house, and break the next day.

* Part of the inscription on an English Guinea.

But whatever momentary relief or aid the Minister and his bank might expect from this low contrivance of five pound notes, it will increase the inability of the Bank to pay the higher notes, and hasten the destruction of all; for even the small taxes that used to be paid in money, will now be paid in these notes, and the Bank will soon find itself with scarcely any other money than what the hair powder guinea tax brings in.

The Bank notes make the most serious part of the business of finance; what is called the national funded debt is but a trifle when put in comparison with it; yet the case of the Bank notes has never been touched upon. But it certainly ought to be known upon what authority, whether that of the Ministers or of the Directors, and upon what foundation, such immense quantities are issued. I have stated the amount of them at sixty millions sterling; I have produced data for that estimation; and besides this, the apparent quantity of them, far beyond that of gold and silver in the nation, corroborates therewith. But were there but a third part of sixty millions, the Bank cannot pay half-a-crown in the pound; for no new supply of money, as before said, can arrive at the Bank, as all the taxes will be paid in paper.

When the funding system began, it was not doubted that the loans that had been borrowed would be repaid. Government not only propagated that belief, but it began paying them off. In time this profession came to be abandoned; and it is not difficult to see that Bank notes will march the same way; for the amount of them is only another debt under another name; and the probability is, that Mr. Pitt will at last propose funding them. In that case Bank notes will not be so valuable as French assignats. The assignats have a solid property in reserve in the national domains; Bank notes have none; and besides this, the English revenue must then sink down to what the amount of it was before the funding system began; between three and four millions. One of which the *arch-treasurer* would require for himself, and the *arch-treasurer apparent* would require three quarters of a million more to pay his debts. "*In France,*" says Sterne, "*they order these things better.*"

I have now exposed the English system of Finance to the eyes of all nations; for this work will be published in all languages. In doing this, I have done an act of justice to those numerous citizens of neutral nations who have been

imposed upon by that fraudulent system, and who have property at stake upon the event.

As an individual citizen of America, and as far as an individual can go, I have revenged (if I may use the expression without any immoral meaning) the piratical depredations committed on the American commerce by the English Government.—I have retaliated for France on the subject of Finance; and I conclude with retorting on Mr. Pitt the expression he used against France, and say, that the English System of Finance “IS ON THE VERGE,—NAY—EVEN IN THE GULPH OF BANKRUPTCY.”

THOMAS PAINE.

*Paris, 19th Germinal,
4th year of the Republic—
April 8, 1796.*

A

LETTER

TO

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

The Late Treaty

CONCLUDED BETWEEN

*GREAT BRITAIN & THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA,*

INCLUDING OTHER MATTERS.

BY THOMAS PAINE.

London :

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1819.



LETTER

TO

GEORGE WASHINGTON,



Paris, August 3, 1796.

As censure is but awkwardly softened by apology, I shall offer you no apology for this letter. The eventful crisis to which your double politics have conducted the affairs of your country, requires an investigation uncramped by ceremony.

There was a time when the fame of America, moral and political, stood fair and high in the world. The lustre of her revolution extended itself to every individual, and to be a citizen of America, gave a title to respect in Europe. Neither meanness nor ingratitude had been mingled in the composition of her character. Her resistance to the attempted tyranny of England left her unsuspected of the one, and her open acknowledgment of the aid she received from France precluded all suspicion of the other. The politics of Washington had not then appeared.

At the time I left America (April 1787) the continental Convention, that formed the federal constitution, was on the point of meeting. Since that time new schemes of politics and new distinctions of parties, have arisen. The term *Anti-federalist* has been applied to all those who combated the defects of that constitution, or opposed the measures of your administration. It was only to the absolute necessity of establishing some federal authority, extending equally over all the States, that an instrument so inconsistent as the present federal constitution is, obtained

a suffrage. I would have voted for it myself, had I been in America, or even for a worse rather than have had none, provided it contained the means of remedying its defects by the same appeal to the people, by which it was to be established. It is always better policy to leave removeable errors to expose themselves, than to hazard too much in contending against them theoretically.

I have introduced these observations, not only to mark the general difference between Anti-federalist and Anti-constitutionalist, but to preclude the effect, and even the application, of the former of these terms to myself. I declare myself opposed to several matters in the constitution, particularly to the manner in which what is called the executive is formed, and to the long duration of the senate; and if I live to return to America, I will use all my endeavours to have them altered. I also declare myself opposed to almost the whole of your administration; for I know it to have been deceitful, if not perfidious, as I shall shew in the course of this letter. But as to the point of consolidating the States into a federal Government, it so happens, that the proposition for that purpose came originally from myself. I proposed it in a letter to Chancellor Livingston in the spring of the year 1782, whilst that gentleman was Minister for foreign affairs. The five per cent duty recommended by congress had then fallen through, having been adopted by some of the States, altered by others, rejected by Rhode Island, and repealed by Virginia, after it had been consented to. The proposal in the letter I allude to, was to get over the whole difficulty at once, by annexing a continental legislative body to Congress; for in order to have any law of the Union uniform, the case could only be, that either Congress, as it then stood, must frame the law, and the States severally adopt it without alteration, or, the States must erect a continental legislature for the purpose. Chancellor Livingston, Robert Morris, Governor Morris, and myself, had a meeting at the house of Robert Morris on the subject of that letter. There was no diversity of opinion on the proposition for a continental legislature: the only difficulty was on the manner of bringing the proposition forward. For my own part, as I considered it as a remedy in reserve, that could be applied at any time *when the States saw themselves wrong enough to be put right*, (which did not appear to be the case at that time) I did not see the propriety of urging it precipitately, and declined being the publisher of it myself. After this ac-

count of a fact, the leaders of your party will scarcely have the hardiness to apply to me the term of Anti-federalist. But I can go to a date and to a fact beyond this, for the proposition for electing a continental convention. To form the Continental Government, is one of the subjects treated of in the pamphlet *Common Sense*.

Having thus cleared away a little of the rubbish that might otherwise have lain in my way, I return to the point of time at which the present federal constitution and your administration began. It was very well said by an anonymous writer in Philadelphia, about a year before that period, that "*thirteen staves and never a hoop will not make a barrel*; and as any kind of hooping the barrel, however defectively executed, would be better than none, it was scarcely possible but that considerable advantages must arise from the federal hooping of the States. It was with pleasure that every sincere friend to America beheld as the natural effect of union, her rising prosperity, and it was with grief they saw that prosperity mixed, even in the blossom, with the germ of corruption. Monopolies of every kind marked your administration almost in the moment of its commencement. The lands obtained by the revolution were lavished upon partizans; the interest of the disbanded soldier was sold to the speculator; injustice was acted under the pretence of faith; and the chief of the army became the patron of the fraud. From such a beginning what else could be expected, than what has happened? A mean and servile submission to the insults of one Nation; treachery and ingratitude to another.

Some vices make their approach with such a splendid appearance, that we scarcely know to what class of moral distinctions they belong. They are rather virtues corrupted than vices originally. But meanness and ingratitude have nothing equivocal in their character. There is not a trait in them that renders them doubtful. They are so originally vice, that they are generated in the dung of other vices, and crawl into existence with the filth upon their backs. The fugitives have found protection in you, and the levee-room is their place of rendezvous.

As the federal constitution is a copy, though not quite so base as the original, of the form of the British Government, an imitation of its vices was naturally to be expected. So intimate is the connection between *form* and *practice*, that to adopt the one is to invite the other. Imitation is na-

turally progressive, and is rapidly so in matters that are vicious.

Soon after the federal constitution arrived in England, I received a letter from a female literary correspondent (a native of New York) very well mixed with friendship, sentiment, and politics. In my answer to that letter, I permitted myself to ramble into the wilderness of imagination, and to anticipate what might hereafter be the condition of America. I had no idea that the picture I then drew was realizing so fast, and still less that Mr. Washington was hurrying it on. As the extract I allude to is congenial with the subject I am upon, I here transcribe it:

“ You touch me on a very tender point, when you say,
 “ *that my friends on your side the water cannot be reconciled*
 “ *to the idea of my abandoning America even for my native*
 “ *England.* They are right. I had rather see my horse,
 “ Button, eating the grass of Bordentown or Morrissania,
 “ than see all the pomp and show of Europe.

“ A thousand years hence, for I must indulge a few
 “ thoughts, perhaps in less, America may be what England
 “ now is. The innocence of her character, that won the
 “ hearts of all Nations in her favour, may sound like a
 “ romance, and her inimitable virtue as if it had never been.
 “ The ruins of that liberty, which thousands bled to obtain,
 “ may just furnish materials for a village tale, or extort a
 “ sigh from rustic sensibility; while the fashionable of that
 “ day, enveloped in dissipation, shall deride the principle,
 “ and deny the fact.

“ When we contemplate the fall of empires, and the ex-
 “ tinction of the Nations of the ancient world, we see but
 “ little more to excite our regret than the mouldering ruins
 “ of pompous palaces, magnificent monuments, lofty
 “ pyramids, and walls and towers of the most costly work-
 “ manship: but when the empire of America shall fall,
 “ the subject for contemplative sorrow will be infinitely
 “ greater than crumbling brass, or marble can inspire. It
 “ will not then be said, Here stood a temple of vast anti-
 “ quity, here rose a Babel of invisible height, or there a Pa-
 “ lace of sumptuous extravagance; but, Here, ah painful
 “ thought! the noblest work of human wisdom, the
 “ greatest scene of human glory, the fair cause of free-
 “ dom, rose and fell: Read this, and then ask if I forget
 “ America.”

Impressed as I was, with apprehensions of this kind, I

had America constantly in my mind in all the publications I afterwards made. The First, and still more, the Second Part of the *Rights of Man*, bear evident marks of this watchfulness; and the *Dissertation on First Principles of Government* goes more directly to the point than either of the former. I now pass on to other subjects.

It will be supposed by those into whose hands this letter may fall, that I have some personal resentment against you; and I will therefore settle this point before I proceed further.

If I have any resentment, you must acknowledge that I have not been hasty in declaring it, neither would it now be declared (for what are private resentments to the public?) if the cause of it did not unite itself as well with your public as with your private character, and with the motives of your political conduct.

The part I acted in the American revolution is well known. I shall not here repeat it. I know also, that, had it not been for the aid received from France, in men, money, and ships, your cold and unmilitary conduct (as I shall shew in the course of this letter) would in all probability have lost America; at least she would not have been the independent Nation she now is. You slept away your time in the field, till the finances of the country were completely exhausted, and you have but little share in the glory of the final event. It is time, Sir, to speak the undisguised language of historical truth.

Elevated to the chair of the presidency, you assumed the merit of every thing to yourself; and the natural ingratitude of your constitution began to appear. You commenced your presidential career by encouraging and swallowing the grossest adulation; and you travelled America from one end to the other to put yourself in the way of receiving it. You have as many addresses in your chest as James the Second. As to what were your views, for if you are not great enough to have ambition you are little enough to have vanity, they cannot be directly inferred from expressions of your own; but the partizans of your politics have divulged the secret.

John Adams has said, (and John it is known was always a speller after places and offices, and never thought his little services were highly enough paid,)—John has said, that as Mr. Washington had no child, the presidency should be made hereditary in the family of Lund Washington. John might then have counted upon some sinecure for himself,

and a provision for his descendants. He did not go so far as to say also, that the vice presidency should be hereditary in the family of John Adams. He prudently left that to stand on the ground, that one good turn deserves another.*

John Adams is one of those men who never contemplated the origin of Government, or comprehended any thing of first principles. If he had, he might have seen, that the right to set up and establish hereditary Government, never did, and never can, exist in any generation at any time whatever; that it is of the nature of treason, because it is an attempt to take away the rights of all the minors living at that time, and of all succeeding generations. It is of a degree beyond common treason; it is a sin against nature. The equal rights of every generation is a fixed right in the nature of things; it belongs to the son when of age, as it belonged to the father before him. John Adams would himself deny the right that any former deceased generation could have to decree authoritatively a succession of governors over him or over his children, and yet he assumes a pretended right, treasonable as it is, of acting it himself: His ignorance is his best excuse.

John Jay has said, (and this John was always the sycophant of every thing in power, from Mr. Girard in America, to Grenville in England)—John Jay has said, that the senate should have been appointed for life. He would then have been sure of never wanting a lucrative appointment for himself, and have had no fears about impeachment. These are the disguised traitors that call themselves federalists.†

Could I have known to what degree of corruption and perfidy the administrative part of the Government of America had descended, I could have been at no loss to have understood the reservedness of Mr. Washington towards me during my imprisonment in the Luxembourg. There are cases in which silence is a loud language. I will here explain the cause of that imprisonment, and return to Mr. Washington afterwards.

In the course of that rage, terror, and suspicion, which the brutal letter of the Duke of Brunswick first started into existence in France, it happened that almost every man

* Two persons to whom John Adams said this, told me of it. The secretary of Mr. Jay was present when it was told to me.

† If Mr. John Jay desires to know on what authority I say this, I will give that authority publicly when he chuses to call for it.

who was opposed to violence, or who was not violent himself, became suspected. I had constantly been opposed to every thing which was of the nature, or of the appearance of violence; but as I had always done it in a manner that shewed it to be a principle founded in my heart, and not a political manœuvre, it precluded the pretence of accusing me. I was reached, however, under another pretence.

A decree was passed to imprison all persons born in England; but as I was a member of the Convention, and had been complimented with the honorary style of citizen of France, as Mr. Washington and some other Americans have been, this decree fell short of reaching me. A motion was afterwards made and carried, supported chiefly by Bourdon de l'Oise, for expelling foreigners from the Convention. My expulsion being thus effected, the two committees of public safety and of general surety, of which Robespierre was the dictator, put me in arrestation under the former decree for imprisoning persons born in England. Having thus shewn under what pretence the imprisonment was effected, I come to speak of such parts of the case as apply between me and Mr. Washington, either as a president, or as an individual.

I have always considered that a foreigner, such as I was in fact, with respect to France, might be a member of a convention for framing a constitution, without affecting his right of citizenship, in the country to which he belongs, but not a member of a Government after a constitution is formed; and I have uniformly acted upon this distinction. To be a member of a Government requires a person being in allegiance with that Government and to the country locally. But a constitution, being a thing of principle, and not of action, and which after it is formed, is to be referred to the people for their approbation or rejection, does not require allegiance in the persons forming and proposing it; and besides this, it is only to the thing after it is formed and established, and to the country after its Governmental character is fixed by the adoption of a constitution, that the allegiance can be given. No oath of allegiance or of citizenship was required of the members who composed the Convention: there was nothing existing in form to swear allegiance to. If any such condition had been required, I could not, as a citizen of America, in fact, though citizen of France by compliment, have accepted a seat in the Convention.

As my citizenship in America was not altered or diminished by any thing I had done in Europe (on the contrary, it ought to have been considered as strengthened, for it was the American principle of Government that I was endeavouring to spread in Europe), and as it is the duty of every Government to charge itself with the care of any of its citizens who may happen to fall under an arbitrary persecution abroad, (and this is also one of the reasons for which ambassadors or ministers are appointed,) it was the duty of the executive department in America, to have made, at least some enquiries about me, as soon as it heard of my imprisonment. But if this had not been the case, that Government owed it to me on every ground and principle of honour and gratitude. Mr. Washington owed it to me on every score of private acquaintance, I will not now say friendship; for it has some time been known by those who know him, that he has no friendships, that he is incapable of forming any; he can serve or desert a man, or a cause, with constitutional indifference; and it is this cold hermaphrodite faculty that imposed itself upon the world, and was credited awhile by enemies, as by friends, for prudence, moderation, and impartiality.

Soon after I was put into arrestation, and imprisonment in the Luxembourg, the Americans who were then in Paris, went in a body to the bar of the Convention to reclaim me. They were answered by the then President Vadier, who has since absconded, that *I was born in England*, and it was signified to them, by some of the Committee of General Surety, to whom they were referred (I have been told it was Billaud Varennes), that their reclamation of me was only the act of individuals, without any authority from the American Government.

A few days after this, all communication between persons imprisoned, and any person without the prison, was cut off by an order of the police. I neither saw nor heard from any body for six months; and the only hope that remained to me was, that a new Minister would arrive from America to supersede Morris, and that he would be authorized to inquire into the cause of my imprisonment; but even this hope, in the state to which matters were daily arriving, was too remote to have any consolatory effect, and I contented myself with the thought that I might be remembered when it would be too late. There is, perhaps, no condition from which a man, conscious of his own uprightness,

cannot derive consolation; for it is in itself a consolation for him to find, that he can bear that condition with calmness and fortitude.

From about the middle of March (1794) to the fall of Robespierre, July 29, (9th of Thermidor) the state of things in the prisons was a continued scene of horror. No man could count upon life for twenty-four hours. To such a pitch of rage and suspicion, were Robespierre and his committee arrived, that it seemed as if they feared to leave a man to live. Scarcely a night passed in which ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or more, were not taken out of the prison, carried before a pretended tribunal in the morning, and guillotined before night. One hundred and sixty-nine were taken out of the Luxembourg one night, in the month of July, and one hundred and sixty of them guillotined. A list of two hundred more, according to the report in the prison, was preparing a few days before Robespierre fell. In this last list I have good reason to believe I was included. A memorandum in the hand-writing of Robespierre was afterwards produced in the Convention, by the committee to whom the papers of Robespierre were referred, in these words:

<p>“ Demander que Thomas “ Paine soit decreté d’ac- “ cusation pour l’interet “ de l’Amerique, autant “ que de la France.”</p>	}	<p>“ Demand that Thomas Paine, “ be decreed of accusa- “ tion for the interest of “ America, as well as of “ France.”</p>
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I had been imprisoned seven months, and the silence of the executive part of the Government of America (Mr. Washington) upon the case, and upon every thing respecting me, was explanation enough to Robespierre that he might proceed to extremities.

A violent fever which had nearly terminated my existence, was, I believe, the circumstance that preserved it. I was not in a condition to be removed, or to know of what was passing, or of what had passed, for more than a month. It makes a blank in my remembrance of life. The first thing I was informed of was the fall of Robespierre.

About a week after this, Mr. Monroe arrived to supersede Governor Morris, and as soon as I was able to write a note legible enough to be read, I found a way to convey one to him by means of the man who lighted the lamps in the prison; and whose unabated friendship to me, from whom

he had never received any service, and with difficulty accepted any recompence, puts the character of Mr. Washington to shame.

In a few days I received a message from Mr. Monroe, conveyed to me in a note from an intermediate person, with assurance of his friendship, and expressing a desire that I would rest the case in his hands. After a fortnight or more had passed, and hearing nothing farther, I wrote to a friend who was then in Paris, a citizen of Philadelphia, requesting him to inform me what was the true situation of things with respect to me. I was sure that something was the matter; I began to have hard thoughts of Mr. Washington, but I was unwilling to encourage them.

In about ten days, I received an answer to my letter, in which the writer says, "Mr. Monroe has told me that he has no order (meaning from the president, Mr. Washington) respecting you, but that he (Mr. Monroe) will do every thing in his power to liberate you; but, from what I learn from the Americans lately arrived in Paris, you are not considered, either by the American Government, or by individuals, as an American citizen."

I was now at no loss to understand Mr. Washington and his new fangled faction, and that their policy was silently to leave me to fall in France. They were rushing as fast as they could venture, without awakening the jealousy of America, into all the vices and corruptions of the British Government; and it was no more consistent with the policy of Mr. Washington, and those who immediately surrounded him, than it was with that of Robespierre or of Pitt, that I should survive. They have, however, missed the mark, and the reaction is upon themselves.

Upon the receipt of the letter just alluded to, I sent a memorial to Mr. Monroe, which the reader will find in the appendix, and I received from him the following answer. It is dated the 18th of September, but did not come to hand till about the 18th of October. I was then falling into a relapse, the weather was becoming damp and cold, fuel was not to be had, and the abscess in my side, the consequence of those things, and of want of air and exercise, was beginning to form, and has continued immoveable ever since. Here follows Mr. Monroe's letter.

"DEAR SIR,

Paris, September 18, 1794.

"I was favoured, soon after my arrival here, with several letters from you, and more latterly with one in the character

of a memorial upon the subject of your confinement; and should have answered them at the times they were respectively written, had I not concluded, you would have calculated with certainty upon the deep interest I take in your welfare, and the pleasure with which I shall embrace every opportunity in my power to serve you. I should still pursue the same course, and for reasons which must obviously occur, if I did not find that you are disquieted with apprehensions upon interesting points, and which justice to you and our country equally forbid you should entertain. You mention that you have been informed you are not considered as an American citizen by the Americans, and that you have likewise heard that I had no instructions respecting you by the Government. I doubt not the person who gave you the information meant well, but I suspect he did not even convey accurately his own ideas on the first point: for I presume the most he could say is, that you had likewise become a French citizen, and which by no means deprived you of being an American one. Even this, however, may be doubted, I mean the acquisition of citizenship in France, and I confess you have said much to shew that it has not been made. I really suspect that this was all that the gentleman who wrote to you, and those Americans he heard speak upon the subject, meant. It becomes my duty, however to declare to you, that I consider you as an American citizen, and that you are considered universally in that character by the People of America. As such you are entitled to my attention; and so far as it can be given consistently with those obligations which are mutual between every Government and even a transient passenger, you shall receive it.

“ The Congress have never decided upon the subject of citizenship, in a manner to regard the present case. By being with us through the revolution, you are of our country as absolutely as if you had been born there, and you are no more of England, than every native American is. This is the true doctrine in the present case, so far as it becomes complicated with any other consideration. I have mentioned it to make you easy upon the only point which could give you any disquietude.

“ It is necessary for me to tell you how much all your countrymen, I speak of the great mass of the people, are interested in your welfare. They have not forgotten the history of their own revolution, and the difficult scenes through which they passed; nor do they review its several

stages without reviving in their bosoms a due sensibility of the merits of those who served them in that great and arduous conflict. The crime of ingratitude has not yet stained, and I trust never will stain, our national character. You are considered by them, as not only having rendered important services in our own revolution, but as being, on a more extensive scale, the friend of human rights, and a distinguished and able advocate in favour of public liberty. To the welfare of Thomas Paine, the Americans are not, nor can they be, indifferent.

“ Of the sense which the President has always entertained of your merits, and of his friendly disposition towards you, you are too well assured, to require any declaration of it from me. That I forward his wishes in seeking your safety is what I well know; and this will form an additional obligation on me to perform what I should otherwise consider as a duty.

“ You are, in my opinion, at present menaced by no kind of danger. To liberate you, will be an object of my endeavours, and as soon as possible. But you must, until that event shall be accomplished, bear your situation with patience and fortitude; you will likewise have the justice to recollect, that I am placed here upon a difficult theatre,* many important objects to attend to, and with few to consult. It becomes me in pursuit of those, to regulate my conduct in respect to each, as to the manner and the time, as will, in my judgment, be best calculated to accomplish the whole.

“ With great esteem and respect consider me personally your friend.

“ JAMES MONROE.”

The part in Mr. Monroe's letter, in which he speaks of the President, (Mr. Washington) is put in soft language. Mr. Monroe knew what Mr. Washington had said formerly, and he was willing to keep that in view. But the fact is, not only that Mr. Washington had given no orders to Mr. Monroe as the letter stated; but he did not so much as say to him, inquire if Mr. Paine be dead or alive, in prison or out, or see if there be any assistance we can give him.

* This I presume alludes to the embarrassments which the strange conduct of Governor Morris had occasioned, and which, I well know had created suspicions of the sincerity of Mr. Washington.

While these matters were passing, the liberations from the prisons were numerous; from twenty to forty in the course of almost every twenty-four hours. The continuance of my imprisonment after a new Minister had arrived immediately from America, which was now more than two months, was a matter so obviously strange, that I found the character of the American Government spoken of in very unqualified terms of reproach; not only by those who still remained in prison, but by those who were liberated, and by persons who had access to the prison from without. Under these circumstances I wrote again to Mr. Monroe, and found occasion to say, among other things, "It will not add to the popularity of Mr. Washington, to have it believed in America, as it is believed here, that he con- nives at my imprisonment."

The case, so far as it respected Mr. Monroe, was, that having to get over the difficulties, which the strange conduct of Governor Morris had thrown in the way of a successor, and having no authority from the American Government, to speak officially upon any thing relating to me, he found himself obliged to proceed by unofficial means with individual members; for though Robespierre was overthrown, the Robespierrian members of the Committee of Public Safety, still remained in considerable force, and had they found out that Mr. Monroe had no official authority upon the case, they would have paid little or no regard to his reclamation of me. In the mean time my health was suffering exceedingly, the dreary prospect of winter was coming on; and imprisonment was still a thing of danger. After the Robespierrian members of the Committee were removed, by the expiration of their time of serving, Mr. Monroe reclaimed me, and I was liberated the 4th of November. Mr. Monroe arrived in Paris the beginning of August before. All that period of my imprisonment, at least, I owe not to Robespierre, but to his colleague in projects, George Washington. Immediately upon my liberation, Mr. Monroe invited me to his house, where I remained more than a year and a half; and I speak of his aid and friendship, as an open-hearted man will always do in such a case, with respect and gratitude.

Soon after my liberation, the Convention passed an unanimous vote, to invite me to return to my seat among them. The times were still unsettled and dangerous, as well from without as within, for the coalition was unbroken, and the constitution not settled. I chose, however, to accept the

invitation: for as I undertake nothing but what I believe to be right, I abandon nothing that I undertake; and I was willing also to shew, that, as I was not of a cast of mind, to be deterred by prospects, or retrospects, of danger, so neither were my principles to be weakened by misfortune or perverted by disgust.

Being now once more abroad in the world, I began to find that I was not the only one who had conceived an unfavourable opinion of Mr. Washington; it was evident that his character was on the decline as well among Americans, as among foreigners of different Nations. From being the chief of the Government, he had made himself the chief of a party; and his integrity was questioned, for his politics had a doubtful appearance. The mission of Mr. Jay, to London, notwithstanding there was an American Minister there already, had then taken place, and was beginning to be talked of. It appeared to others, as it did to me, to be enveloped in mystery, which every day served either to increase or to explain into matter of suspicion.

In the year 1790, or about that time, Mr. Washington, as president, had sent Governor Morris to London, as his secret agent, to have some communication with the British Ministry. To cover the agency of Morris it was given out, I know not by whom, that he went as an agent from Robert Morris, to borrow money in Europe, and the report was permitted to pass uncontradicted. The event of Morris's negotiation was, that Mr. Hammond was sent Minister from England to America, Pinkney from America to England, and himself Minister to France. If, while Morris was Minister in France, he was not an emissary of the British Ministry and the coalesced powers, he gave strong reason to suspect him of it. No one who saw his conduct, and heard his conversation, could doubt his being in their interest; and had he not got off at the time he did, after his recal, he would have been in arrestation. Some letters of his had fallen into the hands of the Committee of Public Safety, and enquiry was making after him.

A great bustle has been made by Mr. Washington about the conduct of Genet in America, whilst that of his own Minister, Morris, in France, was infinitely more reproachable. If Genet was imprudent or rash, he was not treacherous; but Morris was all three. He was the enemy of the French revolution, in every stage of it. But notwithstanding this conduct on the part of Morris, and the known

profligacy of his character, Mr. Washington, in a letter he wrote to him at the time of recalling him on the complaint and request of the Committee of Public Safety, assures him, that though he had complied with that request, he still retained the same esteem and friendship for him as before. This letter, Morris was foolish enough to tell of; and, as his own character and conduct were notorious, the telling of it could have but one effect, which was that of implicating the character of the writer. Morris still loiters in Europe, chiefly in England; and Mr. Washington is still in correspondence with him.—Mr. Washington ought, therefore, to expect, especially since his conduct in the affairs of Jay's treaty, that France must consider Morris and Washington as men of the same description. The chief difference, however, between the two is (for in politics there is none) that the one is profligate enough to profess an indifference about moral principles, and the other is prudent enough to conceal the want of them.

About three months after I was at liberty, the official note of Jay to Grenville, on the subject of the capture of American vessels by the British cruisers, appeared in the American papers that arrived at Paris. Every thing was of a piece—every thing was mean. The same kind of character went to all circumstances public or private. Disgusted at this national degradation, as well as at the particular conduct of Mr. Washington to me, I wrote to him (Mr. Washington) on the twenty-second of February, 1795, under cover to the then Secretary of State (Mr. Randolph) and entrusted the letter to Mr. Letombe, who was appointed French consul to Philadelphia, and was on the point of taking his departure. When I supposed Mr. Letombe had sailed, I mentioned the letter to Mr. Monroe, and as I was then in his house, I shewed it to him. He expressed a wish that I would recal it, which he supposed might be done, as he had learned that Mr. Letombe had not then sailed. I agreed to do so, and it was returned by Mr. Letombe under cover to Mr. Monroe. The letter, will, however, now reach Mr. Washington publicly in the course of this work.

About the month of September following, I had a severe relapse, which gave occasion to the report of my death. I had felt it coming on a considerable time before, which occasioned me to hasten the work I had then on hand, *The Second Part of the Age of Reason*. When I had finished

the work, I bestowed another letter on Mr. Washington, which I sent under cover to Mr. Franklin Bache, of Philadelphia. The letter was as follows:

“ TO GEORGE WASHINGTON,

“ PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

“ *Paris, September 20, 1795.*

“ SIR,

“ I HAD written you a letter by Mr. Letombe, French consul, but, at the request of Mr. Monroe, I withdrew it, and the letter is still by me. I was the more easily prevailed upon to do this, as it was then my intention to have returned to America the latter end of the present year (1795;) but the illness I now suffer prevents me. In case I had come, I should have applied to you for such parts of your official letters (and your private ones, if you had chosen to give them) as contained any instructions or directions either to Mr. Monroe, or to Mr. Morris, or to any other person, respecting me; for after you were informed of my imprisonment in France, it was incumbent on you to have made some enquiry into the cause, as you might very well conclude that I had not the opportunity of informing you of it. I cannot understand your silence upon this subject upon any other ground, than as connivance at my imprisonment; and this is the manner it is understood here, and will be understood in America, unless you will give me authority for contradicting it. I therefore write you this letter, to propose to you to send me copies of any letters you have written, that I may remove this suspicion. In the preface to the Second Part of the *Age of Reason*, I have given a memorandum from the hand-writing of Robespierre, in which he proposed a decree of accusation against me, “ *for the interest of America as well as of France.*” He could have no cause for putting America in the case, but by interpreting the silence of the American Government into connivance and consent. I was imprisoned on the ground of being born in England; and your silence in not enquiring the cause of that imprisonment, and reclaiming me against it, was tacitly giving me up. I ought not to have suspected you of treachery; but whether I recover from the illness I now suffer, or not, I shall continue to think you treacherous, till you give me cause to think otherwise. I am sure you would have found yourself more at your ease, had you

acted by me as you ought; for whether your desertion of me was intended to gratify the English Government, or to let me fall into destruction in France, that you might exclaim the louder against the French revolution; or whether you hoped by my extinction to meet with less opposition in mounting up the American Government; either of these will involve you in reproach you will not easily shake off.

“ THOMAS PAINE.”

Here follows the letter above alluded to, which had been withdrawn:

“ TO GEORGE WASHINGTON,

“ PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

“ *Paris, February 22, 1795.*

“ SIR,

“ As it is always painful to reproach those one would wish to respect, it is not without some difficulty that I have taken the resolution to write to you. The danger to which I have been exposed cannot have been unknown to you, and the guarded silence you have observed upon that circumstance, is what I ought not to have expected from you, either as a friend or as President of the United States.

“ You knew enough of my character, to be assured that I could not have deserved imprisonment in France; and, without knowing any thing more than this, you had sufficient ground to have taken some interest for my safety. Every motive arising from recollection ought to have suggested to you the consistency of such a measure. But I cannot find that you have so much as directed any enquiry to be made whether I was in prison or at liberty, dead or alive; what the cause of that imprisonment was, or whether there was any service or assistance you could render. Is this what I ought to have expected from America, after the part I have acted towards her? Or will it redound to her honour or to your's that I tell the story? I do not hesitate to say that you have not served America with more fidelity, or greater zeal, or more disinterestedness, than myself, and perhaps not with better effect. After the revolution of America had been established, you rested at home to partake its advantages, and I ventured into new scenes of difficulty to extend the principles which that revolution had

produced. In the progress of events, you beheld yourself a President in America, and me a prisoner in France; you folded your arms, forgot your friend, and became silent.

“As every thing I have been doing in Europe was connected with my wishes for the prosperity of America, I ought to be the more surprised at this conduct on the part of her Government. It leaves me but one mode of explanation, which is, *that every thing is not as it ought to be amongst you*, and that the presence of a man who might disapprove, and who had credit enough with the country to be heard and believed, was not wished for. This was the operating motive with the despotie faction that imprisoned me in France, (though the pretence was, that I was a foreigner) and those that have been silent and inactive towards me in America; appear to me to have acted from the same motive. It is impossible for me to discover any other.

“After the part I have taken in the revolution of America, it is natural that I feel interested in whatever relates to her character and prosperity. Though I am not on the spot to see what is immediately acting there, I see some part of what she is acting in Europe. For your own sake, as well as for that of America, I was both surprised and concerned at the appointment of Governor Morris, to be Minister to France. His conduct has proved that the opinion I had formed of that appointment was well founded. I wrote that opinion to Mr. Jefferson at the time, and I was frank enough to say the same thing to Morris, that *it was an unfortunate appointment*. His prating, insignificant pomposity rendered him at once offensive, suspected and ridiculous; and his total neglect of all business had so disgusted the Americans, that they proposed drawing up a protest against him. He carried this neglect to such an extreme, that it was necessary to inform him of it; and I asked him one day, *if he did not feel himself ashamed to take the money of the country, and do nothing for it?* but Morris is so fond of profit and voluptuousness, that he cares nothing about character. Had he not been removed at the time he was, I think his conduct would have precipitated the two countries into a rupture; and in this case, hated *systematically* as America is, and ever will be, by the British Government, and at the same time suspected by France, the commerce of America would have fallen a prey to both.

If the inconsistent conduct of Morris exposed the interest of America to some hazard in France, the pusillanimous conduct of Mr. Jay in England has rendered the American

Government contemptible in Europe. Is it possible that any man, who has contributed to the independence of America, and to free her from the tyranny and injustice of the British Government, can read without shame and indignation the note of Jay to Grenville? It is a satire upon the Declaration of Independence, and an encouragement to the British Government to treat America with contempt. At the time this Minister of petitions was acting this miserable part, he had every means in his hands to enable him to have done his business as he ought. The success or failure of his mission depended upon the success or failure of the French arms. Had France failed, Mr. Jay might have put his humble petition in his pocket, and gone home. The case happened to be otherwise, and he has sacrificed the honour, and perhaps the advantage of it, by turning petitioner. I take it for granted, that he was sent over to demand indemnification for the captured property; and, in this case, if he thought he wanted a preamble to his demand, he might have said, "That, though the Government of England might suppose itself under the necessity of seizing American property bound to France, yet that supposed necessity could not preclude indemnification to the proprietors, who, acting under the authority of their own Government, were not accountable to any other." But Mr. Jay sets out with an implied recognition of the right of the British Government to seize and condemn; for he enters his complaint against the *irregularity* of the seizures, and the condemnation, as if they were reprehensible only by not being conformable to the terms of the proclamation under which they were seized. Instead of being the envoy of a Government, he goes over like a lawyer to demand a new trial. I can hardly help thinking but that Grenville wrote that note himself and Jay signed it; for the style of it is domestic, and not diplomatic. The term, *his Majesty*, used without any descriptive epithet, always signifies the King whom the Minister represents. If this sinking of the demand into a petition was a juggle between Grenville and Jay to cover the indemnification, I think it will end in another juggle, that of never paying the money; and be made use of afterwards to preclude the right of demanding it: for Mr. Jay has virtually disowned the right by appealing to the *magnanimity of his Majesty against the capturers*. He has made this magnanimous Majesty the umpire in the case, and the Government of the United States must abide by the decision. If, Sir, I turn

some part of this business into ridicule, it is to avoid the unpleasant sensation of serious indignation.

“ Among other things which I confess I do not understand, is your proclamation of neutrality. This has always appeared to me as an assumption on the part of the executive. But passing this over, as a disputable case, and considering it only as political, the consequence has been that of sustaining the losses of war, without the balance of reprisals. When the profession of neutrality, on the part of America, was answered by hostilities on the part of Britain, the object and intention of that neutrality existed no longer; and to maintain it after this, was not only to encourage farther insults and depredations, but was an informal breach of neutrality towards France, by passively contributing to the aid of her enemy. That the Government of England considered the American Government as pusillanimous, is evident from the increasing insolence of the conduct of the former towards the latter, till the affair of General Wayne. She then saw that it might be possible to kick a Government into some degree of spirit. So far as the proclamation of neutrality was intended to prevent a dissolute spirit of privateering in America under foreign colours, it was undoubtedly laudable; but to continue it as a Government neutrality, after the commerce of America was made war upon, was submission and not neutrality. — I have heard so much about this thing called neutrality, that I know not if the ungenerous and dishonourable silence (for I must call it such) that has been observed by your part of the Government towards me, during my imprisonment, has not in some measure arisen from that policy.

“ Though I have written you this letter, you ought not to suppose it has been an agreeable undertaking to me. On the contrary, I assure you, it has caused me some disquietude. I am sorry you have given me cause to do it; for, as I have always remembered your former friendship with pleasure, I suffer a loss by your depriving me of that sentiment.

“ THOMAS PAINE.”

That this letter was not written in very good temper, is very evident; but it was just such a letter as his conduct appeared to me to merit, and every thing on his part since has served to confirm that opinion. Had I wanted a commentary on his silence, with respect to my imprisonment in France, some of his faction have furnished me with it.

What I here allude to, is a publication in a Philadelphia paper, copied afterwards into a New York paper, both under the patronage of the Washington faction, in which the writer, still supposing me in prison in France, wonders at my lengthy respite from the scaffold. And he marks his politics still farther, by saying, "It appears, moreover, that the people of England did not relish his (Thomas Paine's) opinions quite so well as he expected; and that for one of his last pieces, as destructive to the peace and happiness of their country, (meaning I suppose, the *Rights of Man*) they threatened our knight-errant with such serious vengeance, that, to avoid a trip to Botany Bay, he fled over to France, as a less dangerous voyage."

I am not refuting or contradicting the falsehood of this publication, for it is sufficiently notorious; neither am I censuring the writer: on the contrary, I thank him for the explanation he has incautiously given of the principles of the Washington faction. Insignificant, however, as the piece is, it was capable of having some ill effects, had it arrived in France during my imprisonment, and in the time of Robespierre; and I am not uncharitable in supposing that this was one of the intentions of the writer.*

I have now done with Mr. Washington on the score of private affairs. It would have been far more agreeable to me, had his conduct been such as not to have merited these reproaches. Errors, or caprices of the temper, can be pardoned and forgotten; but a cold, deliberate crime of the heart, such as Mr. Washington is capable of acting, is not to be washed away.—I now proceed to other matter.

After Jay's note to Grenville arrived in Paris from America, the character of every thing that was to follow might be easily foreseen; and it was upon this anticipation that my letter of February the twenty-second was founded. The event has proved that I was not mistaken, except that it has been much worse than I expected.

It would naturally occur to Mr. Washington, that the secrecy of Jay's mission to England, where there was already an American Minister, could not but create some suspicion in the French Government, especially as the conduct of

* I know not who the writer of the piece is, but some of the Americans say it is Phineas Bond, an American refugee, but now a British consul, and that he writes under the signature of Peter Skunk, or Peter Porcupine, or some such signature.

Morris had been notorious, and the intimacy of Mr. Washington with Morris was known.

The character which Mr. Washington has attempted to act in the world, is a sort of non-describable camelion-coloured thing, called Prudence. It is, in many cases, a substitute for Principle, and is so nearly allied to Hypocrisy, that it easily slides into it. His genius for prudence furnished him, in this instance, with an expedient that served (as is the natural and general character of all expedients) to diminish the embarrassments of the moment, and multiply them afterwards; for he caused it to be announced to the French Government as a confidential matter (Mr. Washington should recollect that I was a member of the Convention, and had the means of knowing what I here state)—he caused it, I say, to be announced, and that for the purpose of preventing any uneasiness to France, on the score of Mr. Jay's mission to England, that the object of that mission, and Mr. Jay's authority, were restricted to the demanding of the surrender of the western posts, and indemnification for the cargoes captured in American vessels.—Mr. Washington knows that this was untrue; and knowing this, he had good reason, to himself, for refusing to furnish the House of Representatives with copies of the instructions given to Jay, as he might suspect, among other things, that he should also be called upon for copies of instructions given to other Ministers, and that in the contradiction of instructions, his want of integrity would be detected. Mr. Washington may now perhaps learn, when it is too late to be of any use to him, that a man will pass better through the world with a thousand open errors upon his back, than in being detected in *one* sly falsehood. When one is detected, a thousand are suspected.

The first account that arrived in Paris of a treaty being negotiated by Mr. Jay (for nobody suspected any) came in an English newspaper, which announced that a treaty, *offensive* and *defensive*, had been concluded between the United States of America and England. This was immediately denied by every American in Paris, as an impossible thing; and though it was disbelieved by the French, it imprinted a suspicion that some underhand business was going forward. At length the treaty itself arrived, and every well-affected American blushed with shame.

It is curious to observe how the appearances of characters will change, whilst the root that produces them remains the same. The Washington faction having waded through the

slough of negociation, and, whilst it amused France with professions of friendship contrived to injure her, immediately throws off the hypocrite, and assumes the air of a swaggering bravado. The party papers of that imbecile administration were on this occasion filled with paragraphs about sovereignty. A poltroon may boast of his sovereign right to let another kick him, and this is the only kind of sovereignty shewn in the treaty with England. But those daring paragraphs, as Timothy Pickering well knows, were intended for France, without whose assistance, in men, money, and ships, Mr. Washington would have cut but a poor figure in the American war. But of his military talents I shall speak hereafter.

I mean not to enter into any discussion of any article of Jay's treaty; I shall speak only of the whole of it. It is attempted to be justified on the ground of its not being a violation of any article or articles of the treaty pre-existing with France. But the sovereign right of explanation does not lie with George Washington and his man Timothy; France, on her part, has, at least, an equal right: and when Nations dispute, it is not so much about words as about things.

A man, such as the world calls a sharper, as versed as Jay must be supposed to be in the quibbles of the law, may find a way to enter into engagements, and make bargains, in such a manner as to cheat some other party, without that party being able, as the phrase is, *to take the law of him*. This often happens in the cabalistical circle of what is called law. But when this is attempted to be acted on the national scale of treaties, it is too despicable to be defended, or to be permitted to exist. Yet this is the trick upon which Jay's treaty is founded, so far as it has relation to the treaty pre-existing with France. It is a counter-treaty to that treaty, and perverts all the great articles of that treaty to the injury of France, and makes them operate as a bounty to England, with whom France is at war. The Washington administration shews great desire that the treaty between France and the United States be preserved. Nobody can doubt its sincerity upon this matter. There is not a British Minister, a British merchant, or a British agent, or factor in America, that does not anxiously wish the same thing. The treaty with France, serves now as a passport to supply England with naval stores, and other articles of American produce; whilst the same articles, when coming to France are made contraband, or seizable, by Jay's treaty

with England. The treaty with France says, that neutral ships make neutral property, and thereby gives protection to English property on board American ships; and Jay's treaty delivers up French property on board American ships to be seized by the English. It is too paltry to talk of faith, of national honour, and of the preservation of treaties, whilst such a barefaced treachery as this stares the world in the face.

The Washington administration may save itself the trouble of proving to the French Government its most *faithful* intentions of preserving the treaty with France; for France has now no desire that it should be preserved; she had nominated an envoy extraordinary to America, to make Mr. Washington and his Government a present of the treaty, and to have no more to do with *that*, or with *him*. It was at the same time officially declared to the American Minister at Paris, *that the French Republic had rather have the American Government for an open enemy than a treacherous friend*. This, Sir, with the internal distractions caused in America, and the loss of character in the world, is the *eventful crisis* alluded to in the beginning of this Letter to which your double politics have brought the affairs of your country. It is time that the eyes of America be opened upon you.

How France would have conducted herself towards America, and American commerce, after all treaty stipulations had ceased, and under the sense of services rendered, and injuries received, I know not. It is, however, an unpleasant reflection, that in all National quarrels, the innocent, and even the friendly part of the community, become involved with the culpable and the unfriendly; and as the accounts that arrived from America, continued to manifest an invariable attachment, in the general mass of the people, to their original ally, in opposition to the new-fangled Washington faction, the resolutions that had been taken in France were suspended. It happened also, fortunately enough, that Governor Morris was not Minister at this time.

There is, however, one point that yet remains in embryo, and which, among other things, serves to shew the ignorance of Washington treaty-makers, and their inattention to pre-existing treaties, when they were employing themselves in framing or ratifying the new treaty with England.

The second article of the treaty of commerce between the United States and France, says, "The Most Christian

“ King and the United States, engage mutually not to grant
 “ any particular favour to other Nations, in respect to
 “ commerce and navigation, that shall not immediately
 “ become common to the other party, who shall enjoy the
 “ same favour freely, if the concession was freely made, or
 “ on allowing the same compensation if the concession was
 “ conditional.”

All the concessions, therefore, made to England by Jay's treaty are, through the medium of this second article in the pre-existing treaty, made to France, and become engrafted into the treaty with France, and can be exercised by her as a matter of right, the same as by England.

Jay's treaty makes a concession to England, and that unconditionally, of seizing naval stores in American ships, and condemning them as contraband. It makes also a concession to England to seize provisions and *other articles* in American ships. *Other articles*, are *all other articles*; and none but an ignoramus, or something worse, would have put such a phrase into a treaty. The condition annexed to this case is, that the provisions and other articles so seized, are to be paid for at a price to be agreed upon. Mr. Washington, as president, ratified this treaty after he knew the British Government had recommenced an indiscriminate seizure of provisions, and of all other articles in American ships: and it is now known that those seizures were made to fit out the expedition going to Quiberon Bay, and it was known beforehand that they would be made. The evidence goes also a good way to prove that Jay and Grenville understood each other upon that subject. Mr. Pinkney, when he passed through France in his way to Spain, spoke of the recommencement of the seizures as a thing that would take place. The French Government had by some means received information from London to the same purpose, with the addition, that the recommencement of the seizures would cause no misunderstanding between the British and American Governments. Grenville, in defending himself against the Opposition in Parliament, on account of the scarcity of corn, said (see his speech at the opening of the parliament that met October 29, 1795) that *the supplies for the Quiberon expedition were furnished out of the American ships*, and all the accounts received at that time from England stated that those seizures were made under the treaty. After the supplies for the Quiberon expedition had been procured, and the expected success had failed, the seizures were counter-

manded ; and had the French seized provision vessels going to England, it is probable that the Quiberon expedition could not have been attempted.

In one point of view, the treaty with England operates as a loan to the English Government. It gives permission to that Government to take American property at sea, to any amount and pay for it when it suits her ; and, besides this, the treaty is in every point of view a surrender of the rights of American commerce and navigation, and a refusal to France of the rights of neutrality. The American flag is not now a neutral flag to France ; Jay's treaty of surrender gives a monopoly of it to England.

On the contrary, the treaty of commerce between America and France was formed on the most liberal principles, and calculated to give the greatest encouragement to the infant commerce of America. France was neither a carrier nor an exporter of naval stores, or of provisions ; those articles belonged wholly to America ; and they had all the protection in that treaty which a treaty can give. But so much has that treaty been perverted, that the liberality of it on the part of France has served to encourage Jay to form a counter-treaty with England ; for he must have supposed the hands of France tied up by her treaty with America, when he was making such large concessions in favour of England. The injury which Mr. Washington's administration has done to the character, as well as to the commerce of America, is too great to be repaired by him. Foreign Nations will be shy of making treaties with a Government that has given the faithless example of perverting the liberality of a former treaty to the injury of the party with whom it was made.

In what a fraudulent light must Mr. Washington's character appear in the world, when his declarations and his conduct are compared together ! Here follows the letter he wrote to the Committee of Public Safety, whilst Jay was negotiating in profound secrecy this treacherous treaty :

“ George Washington, President of the United States
 “ of America, to the representatives of the French
 “ People, members of the Committee of Public
 “ Safety of *the French republic, the great and good*
 “ *friend and ally of the United States.*

“ On the intimation of the wish of the French republic
 “ that a new Minister should be sent from the United States,

“ I resolved to manifest my sense of the readiness with
 “ which *my* request was fulfilled (that of recalling Genet,)
 “ by immediately fulfilling the request of your Government
 “ (that of recalling Morris.)

“ It was some time before a character could be obtained
 “ worthy of the high office of expressing the attachment
 “ of the United States to the happiness of our allies, *and*
 “ *drawing closer the bonds of our friendship.* I have now
 “ made choice of James Monroe, one of our distinguished
 “ citizens, to reside near the French republic, in quality of
 “ Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States of America.
 “ He is instructed to bear to you our *sincere solicitude for*
 “ *your welfare, and to cultivate with zeal the cordiality so*
 “ *happily subsisting between us.* From a knowledge of
 “ his fidelity, probity, and good conduct, I have entire con-
 “ fidence that he will render himself acceptable to you, and
 “ give effect to your desire of preserving and *advancing*
 “ *on all occasions the interest and connection of the two*
 “ *nations.* I beseech you, therefore, to give full credence
 “ to whatever he shall say to you on the part of the United
 “ States, and most of all, when he shall assure you that your
 “ prosperity is an object of our affection. And I pray God
 “ to have the French republic in his holy keeping.

“ G. WASHINGTON.”

Was it by entering into a treaty with England to surrender French property on board American ships to be seized by the English, whilst English property on board American ships was declared by the French treaty not to be seizable, *that the bonds of friendship between America and France were to be drawn closer?* Was it by declaring naval stores contraband when coming to France, whilst by the French treaty they were not contraband when going to England, *that the connection between France and America was to be advanced?* Was it by opening the American ports to the British navy in the present war, from which ports that same navy had been expelled by the aid solicited from France in the American war (and that aid gratuitously given) that the gratitude of America was to be shewn, and the solicitude spoken of in the letter demonstrated?

As the letter was addressed to the Committee of Public Safety, Mr. Washington did not expect it would get abroad in the world, or be seen by any other eye than that of Robespierre, or be heard by any other ear than that of the Committee; that it would pass as a whisper across the

Atlantic from one dark chamber to the other, and there terminate. It was calculated to remove from the mind of the Committee all suspicion upon Jay's mission to England, and in this point of view it was suited to the circumstances of the moment then passing; but as the event of that mission has proved the letter to be hypocritical, it serves no other purpose of the present moment than to shew that the writer is not to be credited. Two circumstances served to make the reading of the letter necessary in the Convention: the one was, that they who succeeded on the fall of Robespierre, found it most proper to act with publicity; the other, to extinguish the suspicions which the strange conduct of Morris had occasioned in France.

When the British treaty and the ratification of it by Mr. Washington were known in France, all further declarations from him of his good disposition, as an ally and a friend, passed for so many cyphers; but still it appeared necessary to him to keep up the farce of declarations. It is stipulated in the British treaty, that commissioners are to report, at the end of two years, on the case of *neutral ships making neutral property*. In the mean time, neutral ships do *not* make neutral property according to the British treaty, and they *do* according to the French treaty. The preservation, therefore, of the French treaty became of great importance to England, as by that means she can employ American ships as carriers, whilst the same advantage is denied to France. Whether the French treaty could exist as a matter of right after this clandestine perversion of it, could not but give some apprehensions to the partizans of the British treaty, and it became necessary to them to make up by fine words what was wanting in good actions.

An opportunity offered to that purpose. The Convention, on the public reception of Mr. Monroe, ordered the American flag and the French flag to be displayed unitedly in the hall of the Convention. Mr. Monroe made a present of an American flag for the purpose. The Convention returned this compliment, by sending a French flag to America, to be presented by their Minister, Mr. Adet, to the American Government. This resolution passed long before Jay's treaty was known or suspected: it passed in the days of confidence;—but the flag was not presented by Mr. Adet till several months after the treaty had been ratified. Mr. Washington made this the occasion of saying some fine things to the French Minister; and the better to

get himself into tune to do this, he began by saying the finest things of himself.

“Born, Sir,” said he, “in a land of liberty; *having* learned its value; *having* engaged in a perilous conflict to defend it; *having*, in a word, devoted the best years of my life to secure its permanent establishment in my own country; *my* anxious recollections, *my* sympathetic feelings, and *my* best wishes, are irresistibly excited, whenever, in any country, I see an oppressed people unfurl the banner of freedom.”—Mr. Washington, having expended so many fine phrases upon himself, was obliged to invent a new one for the French, and he calls them “Wonderful people!”—The coalesced powers acknowledge as much.

It is laughable to hear Mr. Washington talk of his *sympathetic feelings*, who has always been remarked, even among his friends, for not having any. He has, however, given no proofs of any to me. As to the pompous encomiums he so liberally pays to himself on the score of the American revolution, the propriety of them may be questioned; and since he has forced them so much into notice, it is fair to examine his pretensions.

A stranger might be led to suppose, from the egotism with which Mr. Washington speaks, that himself, and himself only, had generated, conducted, completed, established, the revolution. In fine, that it was all his own doing.

In the first place, as to the political part, he had no share in it; and therefore the whole of *that* is out of the question with respect to him. There remains, then, only the military part; and it would have been prudent in Mr. Washington not to have awakened inquiry upon that subject. Fame then was cheap; he enjoyed it cheaply; and nobody was disposed to take away the laurels that, whether they were *acquired* or not, had been given.

Mr. Washington's merit consisted in constancy. But constancy was the common virtue of the revolution. Who was there that was inconstant? I know but of one military defection, that of Arnold, and I know of no political defection, among those who made themselves eminent when the revolution was formed by the Declaration of Independence. Even Silas Deane, though he attempted to defraud, did not betray.

But when we speak of military character, something more is to be understood than constancy; and something more *ought* to be understood than the Fabian system of *doing nothing*. The *nothing* part can be done by any body.

Old Mrs. Thompson, the housekeeper of head-quarters (who threatened to make sun and the *wind* shine through Rivington of New York) could have done it as well as Mr. Washington. Deborah would have been as good as Barak.

Mr. Washington had the nominal rank of commander in chief, but he was not so in fact. He had, in reality, only a separate command. He had no controul over, or direction of the army to the northward under Gates, that captured Burgoyne; or of that to the south under Greene, that recovered the southern states.*—The nominal rank, however, of commander in chief, served to throw upon him the lustre of those actions, and to make him appear as the soul and centre of all military operations in America.

He commenced his command June 1775, during the time the Massachuset army lay before Boston, and after the affair of Bunker's Hill. The commencement of his command was the commencement of inactivity. Nothing was afterwards done, or attempted to be done, during the nine months he remained before Boston. If we may judge from the resistance made at Concord, and afterwards at Bunker's Hill, there was a spirit of enterprise at that time, which the presence of Mr. Washington chilled into cold defence. By the advantage of a good exterior he attracts respect, which his habitual silence tends to preserve; but he has not the talent of inspiring ardour in an army. The enemy removed from Boston to Halifax, in March, 1776, to wait for reinforcements from Europe, and to take a more advantageous position at New York.

The inactivity of the campaign of 1775, on the part of General Washington, when the enemy had a less force than in any other future period of the war, and the injudicious choice of positions taken by him in the campaign of 1776, when the enemy had its greatest force, necessarily produced the losses and misfortunes that marked that gloomy campaign. The positions taken were either islands, or necks of land. In the former, the enemy, by the aid of their ships, could bring their whole force against a part of General Washington's, as in the affair of Long Island; and in the latter, he might be shut up as in the bottom of a bag. This had nearly been the case at New York, and it was so in

* See Mr. Winterbotham's valuable History of America, lately published.

part: it was actually the case at Fort Washington; and it would have been the case at Fort Lee, if General Greene had not moved precipitately off, leaving every thing behind, and, by gaining Hackinsuch-bridge, got out of the bag of Bergin-neck.—How far Mr. Washington, as General, is blameable for these matters, I am not undertaking to determine; but they are evidently defects in military geography. The successful skirmishes at the close of that campaign (matters that would scarcely be noticed in a better state of things) make the brilliant exploits of General Washington's seven campaigns.—No wonder we see so much pusillanimity in the *President*, when we see so little enterprise in the *General!*

The campaign of 1777 became famous, not by any thing on the part of General Washington, but by the capture of General Burgoyne and the army under his command, by the northern army at Saratoga, under General Gates. So totally distinct and unconnected were the two armies of Washington and Gates, and so independent was the latter of the authority of the nominal commander in chief, that the two generals did not so much as correspond, and it was only by a letter of General (since Governor) Clinton, that General Washington was informed of that event. The British took possession of Philadelphia this year, which they evacuated the next, just time enough to save their heavy baggage and fleet of transports from capture by the French Admiral D'Estaing, who arrived at the mouth of the Delaware soon after.

The capture of Burgoyne gave an eclat in Europe to the American arms, and facilitated the alliance with France. The eclat, however, was not kept up by any thing on the part of General Washington. The same unfortunate languor that marked his entrance into the field, continued always. Discontent began to prevail strongly against him, and a party was formed in Congress, whilst sitting at York Town, in Pennsylvania, for removing him from the command of the army. The hope, however, of better times, the news of the alliance with France, and the unwillingness of shewing discontent, dissipated the matter.

Nothing was done in the campaign of 1778, 1779, 1780, in the part where General Washington commanded, except the taking Stony-Point by General Wayne. The southern States in the meantime were overrun by the enemy. They were afterwards recovered by General Greene, who had in a very great measure created the army that accomplished that

recovery. In all this General Washington had no share. The Fabian system of war, followed by him, began now to unfold itself with all its evils; for what is Fabian war without Fabian means to support it? The finances of Congress depending wholly on emissions of paper-money, were exhausted. Its credit was gone. The continental treasury was not able to pay the expence of a brigade of waggons to transport the necessary stores to the army, and yet the sole object, the establishment of the revolution, was a thing of remote distance. The time I am now speaking of is in the latter end of the year 1780.

In this situation of things it was found not only expedient, but absolutely necessary, for Congress to state the whole case to its ally. I know more of this matter (before it came into Congress, or was known to General Washington), of its progress, and its issue, than I choose to state in this letter. Colonel John Laurens was sent to France, as an envoy extraordinary on this occasion, and by a private agreement between him and me, I accompanied him. We sailed from Boston in the Alliance frigate, February eleventh, 1781. France had already done much in accepting and paying bills drawn by Congress; she was now called upon to do more. The event of Colonel Laurens's mission, with the aid of the venerable minister, Franklin, was, that France gave in money, as a present, six millions of livres, and ten millions more as a loan, and agreed to send a fleet of not less than thirty sail of the line, at her own expence, as an aid to America. Colonel Laurens and myself returned from Brest the first of June following, taking with us two millions and a half of livres (upwards of one hundred thousand pounds sterling) of the money given, and convoying two ships with stores.

We arrived at Boston the twenty-fifth of August following. De Grasse arrived with the French fleet in the Chesapeake at the same time, and was afterwards joined by that of Barras, making thirty-one sail of the line. The money was transported in waggons from Boston to the bank of Philadelphia, of which Mr. Thomas Willing, who has since put himself at the head of the list of petitioners in favour of the British treaty, was then president. And it was by the aid of this money, and this fleet, and of Rochambeau's army, that Cornwallis was taken; the laurels of which have been unjustly given to Mr. Washington. His merit in that affair was no more than that of any other American officer.

I have had, and still have, as much pride in the American revolution as any man, or as Mr. Washington has a right to have; but that pride has never made me forgetful whence the great aid came that completed the business. Foreign aid (that of France) was calculated upon at the commencement of the revolution. It is one of the subjects treated of in the pamphlet *Common Sense*, but as a matter that could not be hoped for, unless independence was declared. The aid, however, was greater than could have been expected.

It is as well the ingratitude as the pusillanimity of Mr. Washington, and the Washington faction, that has brought upon America the loss of character she now suffers in the world, and the numerous evils her commerce has undergone, and to which it is still exposed. The British Ministry soon found out what sort of men they had to deal with, and they dealt with them accordingly; and if further explanation was wanting, it has been fully given since, in the snivelling address of the New York chamber of commerce to the President, and in that of sundry merchants of Philadelphia, which was not much better.

When the revolution of America was finally established by the termination of the war, the world gave her credit for great character; and she had nothing to do but to stand firm upon that ground. The British Ministry had their hands too full of trouble to have provoked a rupture with her, had she shewn a proper resolution to defend her rights: but encouraged as they were, by the submissive character of the American administration, they proceeded from insult to insult, till none more were left to be offered. The proposals made by Sweden and Denmark to the American Government were disregarded. I know not if so much as an answer has been returned to them. The Minister *penitentiary*, (as some of the British prints called him) Mr. Jay, was sent on a pilgrimage to London, to make all up by penance and petition. In the mean time, the lengthy and drowsy writer of the pieces signed *Camillus* held himself in reserve to vindicate *every thing*; and to sound in America the tocsin of terror upon the *inexhaustible* resources of England. Her resources, says he, are greater than those of all the other powers. This man is so intoxicated with fear and finance, that he knows not the difference between *plus* and *minus*—between a hundred pounds in hand, and a hundred pounds worse than nothing.

The commerce of America, so far as it had been established, by all the treaties that had been formed prior to that

by Jay, was free, and the principles upon which it was established were good. That ground ought never to have been departed from. It was the justifiable ground of right; and no temporary difficulties ought to have induced an abandonment of it. The case is now otherwise. The ground, the scene, the pretensions, the every thing is changed. The commerce of America is by Jay's treaty put under foreign dominion. The sea is not free for her. Her right to navigate it is reduced to the right of escaping; that is, until some ship of England or France stops her vessels, and carries them into port. Every article of American produce, whether from the sea or the land, fish, flesh, vegetable, or manufacture, is by Jay's treaty made either contraband, or seizeable. Nothing is exempt. In all other treaties of commerce, the article which enumerates the contraband articles, such as fire-arms, gunpowder, &c. is followed by another which enumerates the articles not contraband; but it is not so in Jay's treaty. There is no exempting article. Its place is supplied by the article for seizing and carrying into port: and the sweeping phrase of provisions and other *articles* includes every thing. There never was such a base and servile treaty of surrender, since treaties began to exist.

This is the ground upon which America now stands. All her rights of commerce and navigation are to begin anew, and that with loss of character to begin with. If there is sense enough left in the heart, to call a blush into the cheek, the Washington administration must be ashamed to appear. And as to you, Sir, treacherous in private friendship (for so you have been to me, and that in the day of danger) and a hypocrite in public life, the world will be puzzled to decide, whether you are an APOSTATE, or an IMPOSTOR?— Whether you have abandoned good principles, or whether you ever had any?

THOMAS PAINE.

APPENDIX.



MEMORIAL

OF

Thomas Paine to Mr. Monroe,

ALLUDED TO IN THE FOREGOING LETTER.

Luxembourg, September 10, 1794.

I ADDRESS this memorial to you, in consequence of a letter I received from a friend 18th Fructidor, (Sept. 14th) in which he says,—“ Mr. Monroe has told me, that he has no orders (meaning from the Congress) respecting you ; but “ I am sure he will leave nothing undone to liberate you. “ But, from what I learn from all the late Americans, you “ are not considered either by the Government, or by the “ individuals, as an American citizen. You have been “ made a French citizen, which you have accepted, and “ you have further made yourself a servant of the French “ republic ; and therefore it would be out of character for “ an American Minister to interfere in their internal concerns.—You must therefore either be liberated out of compliance to America, or stand your trial, which you have a “ right to demand.”

This information was so unexpected by me, that I am at a loss how to answer it. I know not on what principle it originates ; whether from an idea, that I had voluntarily abandoned my citizenship of America for that of France, or from any article of the American Constitution applied to me.—The first is untrue with respect to any intention on my part ; and the second is without foundation, as I shall shew in the course of this memorial.

The idea of conferring honour of citizenship upon foreigners, who had distinguished themselves in propagating the principles of liberty and humanity, in opposition to despotism, war, and bloodshed, was first proposed by me to La Fayette, at the commencement of the French revolution, when his heart appeared to be warmed with those principles. My motive in making this proposal was to render the people of different Nations more fraternal than they had been, or then were. I observed that almost every branch of science had possessed itself of the exercise of this right, so far as it regarded its institution. Most of the academies and societies in Europe, and also those of America, conferred the rank of honorary member, upon foreigners eminent in knowledge, and made them, in fact, citizens of their literary or scientific republic; without affecting or anywise diminishing, their rights of citizenship in their own country, or in other societies: and why the science of Government should not have the same advantage, or why the people in one Nation should not, by their representatives, exercise the right of conferring the honour of citizenship upon individuals eminent in another Nation, without affecting *their* rights of citizenship, is a problem yet to be solved.

I now proceed to remark on that part of the letter, in which the writer says—that, “*from all he can learn from the late Americans, I am not considered in America, either by the government or by the individuals, as an American citizen.*”

In the first place I wish to ask, what is here meant by the Government of America? The members who compose the Government, are only individuals when in conversation, and who, most probably, hold very different opinions upon the subject.—Have Congress as a body made any declaration respecting me, that they now no longer consider me as a citizen? If they have not, any thing they otherwise say, is no more than the opinion of individuals, and consequently is not legal authority, or anywise sufficient authority to deprive any man of his citizenship. Besides, whether a man has forfeited his rights of citizenship, is a question not determinable by Congress, but by a court of judicature, and a jury; and must depend upon evidence, and the application of some law or article of the Constitution to the case. No such proceeding has yet been had, and consequently I remain a citizen until it be had, be that decision what it may; for there can be no such thing as a suspension of rights in the interim.

I am very well aware, and always was, of the article of the Constitution which says, as nearly as I can recollect the words, that "any citizen of the United States, who shall accept any title, place, or office, from any foreign King, Prince, or State, shall forfeit and lose his right of citizenship of the United States."

Had the article said, that *any citizen of the United States, who shall be a member of any foreign Convention, for the purpose of forming a free constitution, shall forfeit and lose the right of citizenship of the United States*, the article had been directly applicable to me; but the idea of such an article never could have entered the mind of the American Convention, and the present article is altogether foreign to the case with respect to me. It supposes a Government in active existence, and not a Government dissolved; and it supposes a citizen of America, accepting titles and offices under that Government, and not a citizen of America who gives his assistance in a Convention chosen by the people, for the purpose of forming a Government *de novo*, founded on their authority.

The late Constitution and Government of France was dissolved the 10th of August 1792. The national legislative assembly then in being, supposed itself without sufficient authority to continue its sittings, and it proposed to the departments to elect, not another legislative assembly, but a Convention for the express purpose of forming a new constitution. When the assembly were discoursing on this matter, some of the members said, that they wished to gain all the assistance possible upon the subject of free constitutions; and expressed a wish to elect and invite foreigners of any Nation to the Convention, who had distinguished themselves in defending, explaining, and propagating, the principles of liberty. It was on this occasion that my name was mentioned in the assembly. After this, a deputation from a body of the French people, in order to remove any objection that might be made against my assisting at the proposed Convention, requested the assembly, as their representatives, to give me the title of French Citizen; after which, I was elected a member of the French Convention, in four different departments, as is already known.

The case therefore is, that I accepted nothing from any King, Prince, or State; or from any Government: for France was without any Government, except what arose from common consent, and the necessity of the case. Neither did "I make myself a servant of the French Republic," as the

letter alluded to expresses; for at that time France was no republic not even in name. She was altogether a people in a state of revolution.

It was not until the Convention met that France was declared a republic, and monarchy abolished; soon after which a committee was elected, of which I was a member, to form a constitution, which was presented to the Convention, the fifteenth and sixteenth of February following, but was not to be taken into consideration till after the expiration of two months, and if approved of by the Convention, was then to be referred to the people for their acceptance, with such additions or amendments as the Convention should make.

In thus employing myself upon the formation of a constitution, I certainly did nothing inconsistent with the American constitution. I took no oath of allegiance to France, or any other oath whatever. I considered the citizenship they had presented me, as an honorary mark of respect paid to me not only as a friend to liberty, but as an American citizen. My acceptance of that, or the deputyship, not conferred on me by any King, Prince, or State, but by a people in a state of revolution, and contending for liberty, required no transfer of my allegiance, or of my citizenship from America to France. There I was a real citizen, paying taxes; here I was a voluntary friend, employing myself on a temporary service. Every American in Paris knew, that it was my constant intention to return to America, as soon as a constitution should be established, and that I anxiously waited for that event.

I ever must deny, that the article of the American constitution already mentioned, can be applied either verbally, intentionally, or constructively, to me. It undoubtedly was the intention of the Convention that framed it, to preserve the purity of the American republic, from being debased by foreign and foppish customs; but it never could be its intention to act against the principles of liberty, by forbidding its citizens to assist in promoting those principles in foreign countries; neither could it be its intention to act against the principles of gratitude. France had aided America in the establishment of her revolution, when invaded and oppressed by England and her auxiliaries. France in her turn was invaded and oppressed by a combination of foreign despots. In this situation I conceived it an act of gratitude in me, as a citizen of America, to render her in return the best services I could perform. I came to

France (for I was in England when I received the invitation) not to enjoy ease, emoluments, and foppish honours, as the article supposes; but to encounter difficulties and dangers in defence of liberty; and I much question whether those who now malignantly seek (for some I believe do) to turn this to my injury, would have had courage to have done the same. I am sure Governor Morris would not. He told me the second day after my arrival (in Paris,) that the Austrians and Prussians, who were then at Verdun, would be in Paris in a fortnight. I have no idea, said he, that seventy thousand disciplined troops can be stopped in their march by any power in France.

Besides the reasons I have already given for accepting the invitation to the Convention, I had another that has reference particularly to America, which I mentioned to Mr. Pinckney the night before I left London to come to Paris: "That it was to the interest of America that the system of European Governments should be changed, and placed on the same principle with her own."

It is certain that Governments upon similar systems agree better together, than those that are founded on principles discordant with each other; and the same rule holds good with respect to the people living under them. In the latter case they offend each other by pity, or by reproach; and the discordancy carries itself to matters of commerce. I am not an ambitious man, but perhaps I have been an ambitious American. I have wished to see America the *Mother Church* of Government.

I have now stated sufficient matter, to shew that the article in question is not applicable to me; and that any such application to my injury, as well in circumstances as in rights, is contrary both to the letter and intention of that article, and is illegal and unconstitutional. Neither do I believe that any jury in America, when they are informed of the whole of the case, would give a verdict to deprive me of my rights upon that article. The citizens of America, I believe, are not very fond of permitting forced and indirect explanations to be put upon matters of this kind. I know not what were the merits of the case with respect to the person who was prosecuted for acting as prize-master to a French privateer, but I know that the jury gave a verdict against the prosecution. The rights I have acquired are dear to me. They have been acquired by honourable means, and by dangerous service in the worst of times, and I cannot passively permit them to be wrested from me. I

conceive it my duty to defend them, as the case involves a constitutional and public question, which is, how far the power of the federal Government extends, in depriving any citizen of his rights of citizenship, or of suspending them.

That the explanation of national treaties belongs to Congress, is strictly constitutional; but not the explanation of the constitution itself, any more than the explanation of law in the case of individual citizens. These are altogether judiciary questions. It is, however, worth observing, that Congress, in explaining the article of the treaty with respect to French prizes and French privateers, confined itself strictly to the letter of the article. Let them explain the article of the constitution with respect to me in the same manner, and the decision, did it appertain to them, could not deprive me of my rights of citizenship, or suspend them, for I have accepted nothing from any King, Prince, State, or Government.

You will please to observe, that I speak as if the federal Government had made some declaration upon the subject of my citizenship; whereas the fact is otherwise; and your saying that you have no orders respecting me, is a proof of it. They, therefore, who propagate the report of my not being considered as a citizen of America by Government, do it to the prolongation of my imprisonment, and without authority; for Congress, *as a Government*, has neither decided upon it, nor yet taken the matter into consideration; and I request you to caution such persons against spreading such reports.—But be these matters as they may, I cannot have a doubt that you find and feel the case very different, since you have heard what I have to say, and known what my situation is, than you did before your arrival.

Painful as the want of liberty may be, it is a consolation to me to believe, that my imprisonment proves to the world, that I had no share in the murderous system that then reigned. That I was an enemy to it, both morally and politically, is known to all who had any knowledge of me; and could I have written French as well as I can English, I would publicly have exposed its wickedness, and shewn the ruin with which it was pregnant.—They who have esteemed me on former occasions, whether in America, or in Europe, will, I know, feel no cause to abate that esteem, when they reflect, that *imprisonment with preservation of character, is preferable to liberty with disgrace.*

The letter before quoted in the first page of this memorial, says, "it would be out of character for an American Minister to interfere in the internal affairs of France."— This goes on the idea that I am a citizen of France, and a member of the Convention; which is not the fact. The Convention have declared me to be a foreigner; and consequently the citizenship and the election are null and void. It also has the appearance of a decision, that the article of the constitution respecting grants made to American citizens by foreign Kings, Princes, or States, is applicable to me; which is the very point in question, and against the application of which I contend. I state evidence to the Minister, to shew that I am not within the letter or meaning of that article, that it cannot operate against me; and I apply to him for the protection that, I conceive, I have a right to ask, and to receive. The internal affairs of France are out of the question with respect to my application, or his interference. I ask it not as a citizen of France, for I am not one; I ask it not as a member of the Convention, for I am not one; both these, as before said, have been rendered null and void; I ask it not as a man against whom there is any accusation, for there is none; I ask it not as an exile from America, whose liberties I have honourably and generously contributed to establish; I ask it as a citizen of America, deprived of his liberty in France, under the plea of being a foreigner; and I ask it because I conceive I am entitled to it, upon every principle of constitutional justice and national honour.

THOMAS PAINE.



LETTERS

TO THE

Citizens

OF

THE UNITED STATES

OF

AMERICA,

AFTER AN ABSENCE OF FIFTEEN YEARS.

BY THOMAS PAINE.

London :

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY R. CARLILE, 55, FLEET STREET.

1819.

LETTERS,

&c. &c.

LETTER I.

AFTER an absence of almost fifteen years, I am again returned to the country in whose dangers I bore my share, and to whose greatness I contributed my part.

When I sailed for Europe, in the spring of 1787, it was my intention to return to America the next year, and enjoy in retirement the esteem of my friends, and the repose I was entitled to. I had stood out the storm of one revolution, and had no wish to embark in another. But other scenes and other circumstances than those of contemplated ease were allotted to me. The French Revolution was beginning to germinate when I arrived in France. The principles of it were good, they were copied from America, and the men who conducted it were honest. But the fury of faction soon extinguished the one, and sent the other to the scaffold. Of those who began that Revolution, I am almost the only survivor, and that through a thousand dangers. I owe this not to the prayers of priests, nor to the piety of hypocrites, but to the continued protection of Providence.

But while I beheld with pleasure, the dawn of liberty rising in Europe, I saw, with regret, the lustre of it fading in America. In less than two years from the time of my departure, some distant symptoms painfully suggested the idea that the principles of the Revolution were expiring on the soil that produced them. I received at that time a letter from a female literary correspondent, and in my answer to

her, I expressed my fears on that head, in the following pensive soliloquy.

“ You touch me on a very tender point, when you say that my friends on your side the water, cannot be reconciled to the idea of my abandoning America, even for my native England. They are right; I had rather see my horse Button eating the grass of Bordentown or Morisania, than see all the pomp and shew of Europe.

“ A thousand years hence, for I must indulge a few thoughts, perhaps in less, America may be what Europe now is.—The innocence of her character that won the hearts of all nations in her favour, may sound like a romance, and her inimitable virtue as if it had never been. The ruins of that liberty for which thousands have bled, may just furnish materials for a village tale, or extort a sigh from rustic sensibility; whilst the fashionable of that day, enveloped in dissipation, shall deride the principles and deny the fact.

“ When we contemplate the fall of empires, and the extinction of the nations of the ancient world, we see but little more to excite our regret, than the mouldering ruins of pompous palaces, magnificent monuments, lofty pyramids, and walls and towers of the most costly workmanship: but when the empire of America shall fall, the subject for contemplative sorrow will be infinitely greater than crumbling brass or marble can inspire. It will not then be said, here stood a temple of vast antiquity, here rose a Babel of invisible height, or there a palace of sumptuous extravagance; but here! a painful thought! the noblest work of human wisdom—the grandest scene of human glory, the fair cause of freedom ROSE and FELL. Read this, and then ask if I forget America.”

I now know from the information I obtain upon the spot, that the impressions that then distressed me, for I was proud of America, were but too well founded.—She was turning her back on her own glory, and making hasty strides in the retrograde path of oblivion. But a spark from the altar of *Seventy-six*, unextinguished and unextinguishable through that long night of error, is again lighting up in every part of the union, the genuine flame of rational liberty.

As the French Revolution advanced, it fixed the attention of the world, and drew from the pensioned pen of Edmund Burke a furious attack. This brought me once more on the public theatre of politics, and occasioned the pamphlet *Rights of Man*. It had the greatest run of any work ever published in the English language. The number of copies

circulated in England, Scotland and Ireland, besides translations into foreign languages, was between four and five hundred thousand. The principles of that work were the same as those in *Common Sense*, and the effects would have been the same in England as that had produced in America, could the vote of the nation have been quietly taken, or had equal opportunities of consulting or acting existed. The only difference between the two works was, that the one was adapted to the local circumstances of England, and the other to those of America. As to myself, I acted in both cases alike: I relinquished to the people of England, as I had done to those of America, all profits from the work. My reward existed in the ambition to do good, and the independent happiness of my own mind.

But a faction, acting in disguise, was rising in America; they had lost sight of first principles. They were beginning to contemplate government as a profitable monopoly, and the people as hereditary property. It is, therefore, no wonder that the *Rights of Man* was attacked by that faction, and its author continually abused. But let them go on, give them rope enough, and they will put an end to their own insignificance. There is too much common sense and independence in America to be long the dupe of any faction, foreign or domestic.

But, in the midst of the freedom we enjoy, the licentiousness of the papers called federal (and I know not why they are called so, for they are in their principles anti-federal and despotic,) is a dishonour to the character of the country, and an injury to its reputation and importance abroad. They represent the whole people of America as destitute of public principle and private manners. As to any injury they can do at home to those whom they abuse, or service they can render to those who employ them, it is to be set down to the account of noisy nothingness. It is on themselves the disgrace recoils, for the reflection easily presents itself to every thinking mind, that *those who abuse liberty when they possess it would abuse power could they obtain it*; and therefore, they may as well take as a general motto, for all such papers, *We and our patrons are not fit to be trusted with power.*

There is in America, more than in any other country, a large body of people who attend quietly to their farms, or follow their several occupations, who pay no regard to the clamours of anonymous scribblers, who think for themselves, and judge of government, not by the fury of news-

paper writers, but by the prudent frugality of its measures, and the encouragement it gives to the improvement and prosperity of the country, and who, acting on their own judgment, never come forward in an election but on some important occasion.

When this body moves, all the little barkings of scribbling and witless curs pass for nothing. To say to this independent description of men, You must turn out such and such persons at the next election, for they have taken off a great many taxes, and lessened the expences of Government, they have dismissed my son, or my brother, or myself, from a lucrative office, in which there was nothing to do—is to shew the cloven foot of faction, and preach the language of ill disguised mortification. In every part of the union, this faction is in the agonies of death, and in proportion as its fate approaches, gnashes its teeth and struggles. My arrival has struck it, as with an hydrophobia, it is like the sight of water to canine madness.

As this letter is intended to announce my arrival to my friends, and to my enemies, if I have any, for I ought to have none in America, and as introductory to others that will occasionally follow, I shall close it by detailing the line of conduct I shall pursue.

I have no occasion to ask, and do not intend to accept any place or office in the Government. There is none it could give me, that would be any ways equal to the profits I could make as an author, for I have an established fame in the literary world, could I reconcile it to my principles to make money by my politics or religion; I must be in every thing what I have ever been, a disinterested volunteer; my proper sphere of action is on the common floor of citizenship, and to honest men I give my hand and my heart freely.

I have some manuscript works to publish, of which I shall give proper notice, and some mechanical affairs to bring forward, that will employ all my leisure time. I shall continue these letters as I see occasion, and as to the low party prints that choose to abuse me, they are welcome, I shall not descend to answer them. I have been too much used to such common stuff to take any notice of it. The Government of England honoured me with a thousand martyrdoms, by burning me in effigy in every town in that country, and their hirelings in America may do the same.

THOMAS PAINE.

City of Washington.

LETTER II.

As the affairs of the country to which I am returned are of more importance to the world, and to me, than of that I have lately left (for it is through the new world the old must be regenerated, if regenerated at all) I shall not take up the time of the reader with an account of scenes that have passed in France, many of which are painful to remember and horrid to relate, but come at once to the circumstances in which I find America on my arrival.

Fourteen years, and something more, have produced a change, at least among a part of the people, and I ask myself what it is? I meet or hear of thousands of my former connexions who are men of the same principles and friendships as when I left them. But a non-descript race, and of equivocal generation, assuming the name of *federalist*, a name that describes no character of principle good or bad, and may equally be applied to either, has since started up with the rapidity of a mushroom, and like a mushroom is withering on its rootless stalk. Are those men *federalized* to support the liberties of their country or to overturn them? To add to its fair fame, or riot on its spoils? The name contains no defined idea. It is like John Adams's definition of a republic in his letter to Mr. Wythe of Virginia. *It is, says he, an empire of laws, and not of men.* But as laws may be bad as well as good, an empire of laws may be the best of all governments or the worst of all tyrannies. But John Adams is a man of paradoxical heresies, and consequently of a bewildered mind. He wrote a book entitled, "*A defence of the American Constitutions,*" and the principles of it are an attack upon them. But the book is descended to the tomb of forgetfulness, and the best fortune that can attend its author is quietly to follow its fate. John was not born for immortality. But to return to federalism.

In the history of parties and the names they assume, it often happens, that they finish by the direct contrary prin-

ciples with which they profess to begin, and thus it has happened with federalism.

During the time of the old Congress, and prior to the establishment of the federal government, the continental belt was too loosely buckled. The several states were united in name but not in fact, and that nominal union had neither centre nor circle. The laws of one state frequently interfered with, and sometimes opposed, those of another. Commerce between state and state was without protection, and confidence without a point to rest on. The condition the country was then in was aptly described by Pelatiah Webster, when he said, "*Thirteen staves and ne'er a hoop will not make a barrel.*"

If then by *federalist* is to be understood one who was for cementing the union by a general government operating equally over all the states, in all matters that embraced the common interest, and to which the authority of the states severally was not adequate, for no one state can make laws to bind another, if I say, by a *federalist* is meant a person of this description, (and this is the origin of the name) *I ought to stand first on the list of federalists*, for the proposition for establishing a general government over the union, came originally from me in 1783, in a written memorial to Chancellor Livingston, then secretary for foreign affairs to Congress. Robert Morris, minister of finance, and his associate Governor Morris, all of whom are now living, and we had a dinner and conference at Robert Morris's on the subject.—The occasion was as follows.

Congress had proposed a duty of five per cent. on imported articles, the money to be applied as a fund towards paying the interest of loans to be borrowed in Holland. The resolve was sent to the several states to be enacted into a law. Rhode-Island absolutely refused. I was at the trouble of a journey to Rhode Island to reason with them on the subject. Some other of the states enacted it with alterations, each one as it pleased. Virginia adopted it, and afterwards repealed it, and the affair came to nothing.

It was then visible, at least to me, that either Congress must frame the laws necessary for the union, and send them to the several states to be enregistered without any alteration, which would in itself appear like usurpation on one part, and passive obedience on the other, or some method must be devised to accomplish the same end by constitutional principles, and the proposition I made in the memorial, was, to *add a continental legislature to congress, to be elected by*

the several states. The proposition met the full approbation of the gentlemen to whom it was addressed, and the conversation turned on the manner of bringing it forward. Governor Morris, in walking with me after dinner, wished me to throw out the idea in the newspapers, I replied, that I did not like to be always the proposer of new things, that it would have too assuming an appearance; and besides, that *I did not think the country was quite wrong enough to be put right.* I remember giving the same reason to Dr. Rush, at Philadelphia, and to General Gates, at whose quarters I spent a day on my return from Rhode Island, and I suppose they will remember it, because the observation seemed to strike them.

But the embarrassments increasing, as they necessarily must from the want of a better cemented union, the state of Virginia proposed holding a commercial convention, and that convention, which was not sufficiently numerous, proposed that another convention, with more extensive and better defined powers, should be held at Philadelphia, May 10, 1787.

When the plan of the federal Government, formed by this convention, was proposed and submitted to the consideration of the several states, it was strongly objected to in each of them. But the objections were not on anti-federal grounds but on constitutional points. Many were shocked at the idea of placing, what is called, executive power, in the hands of a single individual. To them it had too much the form and appearance of a military Government, or a despotic one. Others objected that the powers given to a president were too great, and that in the hands of an ambitious and designing man, it might grow into tyranny, as it did in England under Oliver Cromwell, and as it has since done in France. A republic must not only be so in its principles, but in its forms. The executive part of the federal Government was made for a man, and those who consented, against their judgment, to place executive power in the hands of a single individual, reposed more on the supposed moderation of the person they had in view, than on the wisdom of the measure itself.

Two considerations, however, overcame all objections. The one was, the absolute necessity of a federal Government. The other, the rational reflection that as government in America is founded on the representative system, any error in the first essay could be reformed by the same quiet and rational process by which the constitution was formed; and

that, either by the generation then living, or by those who were to succeed. If ever America lose sight of this principle, she will no longer be the *land of liberty*. The father will become the assassin of the rights of the son, and his descendants be a race of slaves.

As many thousands who were minors are grown up to manhood since the name of *federalist* began it became necessary, for their information, to go back and shew the origin of the name, which is now no longer what it originally was; but it is the more necessary to do this, in order to bring forward, in the open face of day, the apostacy of those who first called themselves federalists.

To them it served as a cloak for treason, a mask for tyranny. Scarcely were they placed in the seat of power and office, than federalism was to be destroyed, and the representative system of Government, the pride and glory of America, and the palladium of her liberties, was to be overthrown and abolished. The next generation was not to be free. The son was to bend his neck beneath the father's foot, and live, deprived of his rights, under hereditary controul. Among the men of this apostate description, is to be ranked the ex-president *John Adams*. It has been the political career of this man to begin with hypocrisy, proceed with arrogance, and finish in contempt. May such be the fate of all such characters.

I have had doubts of John Adams ever since the year 1776. In a conversation with me at that time, concerning the pamphlet *Common Sense*, he censured it because it attacked the English form of Government. John was for independence because he expected to be made great by it; but it was not difficult to perceive, for the surliness of his temper makes him an aukward hypocrite, that his head was as full of kings, queens and knaves, as a pack of cards. But John has lost deal.

When a man has a concealed project in his brain that he wants to bring forward and fears will not succeed, he begins with it as physicians do by suspected poison, try it first on an animal; if it agree with the stomach of the animal he makes further experiments, and this was the way John took. His brain was teeming with projects to overturn the liberties of America, and the representative system of Government, and he began by hinting it in little companies. The secretary of John Jay, an excellent painter and a poor politician told me, in presence of another American, Daniel Parkér that in a company where himself was present, John Adam,

talked of making the Government hereditary and that as Mr. Washington had no children, it should be made hereditary in the family of Lund Washington. John had not impudence enough to propose himself in the first instance, as the old French Normandy Baron did, who offered to come over to be King of America, and if Congress did not accept his offer, that they would give him thirty thousand pounds for the generosity of it; but John, like a mole, was grubbing his way to it under ground. He knew that Lund Washington was, unknown, for no body had heard of him, and that as the president had no children to succeed him the vice-president had, and if the treason had succeeded, and the hint with it, the goldsmith might be sent for to take measure of the head of John or of his son for a golden wig. In this case the good people of Boston might have for a king the man they have rejected as a delegate. The representative system is fatal to ambition.

Knowing, as I do, the consummate vanity of John Adams, and the shallowness of his judgment, I can easily picture to myself that when he arrived at the Federal City, he was strutting in the pomp of his imagination before the Presidential House, or in the Audience Hall, and exulting in the language of Nebuchadnezzar—"Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the honour of my Majesty!" But in that unfortunate hour, or soon after, John, like Nebuchadnezzar, was driven from among men and fled with the speed of a post horse.

Some of John Adams's loyal subjects, I see, have been to present him with an address on his birth-day; but the language they use is too tame for the occasion. Birth-day addresses, like birth-day odes, should not creep along like dew-drops down a cabbage-leaf, but roll in a torrent of poetical metaphor. I will give them a specimen for the next year. Here it is—

When an Ant, in travelling over the globe, lift up its foot, and put it again on the ground, it shakes the earth to its centre: But when YOU, the mighty Ant of the East, was born, &c. &c. &c. the centre jumped upon the surface.

This, gentlemen, is the proper stile of addresses from *well-bred* Ants to the Monarch of the Ant-hills; and as I never take pay for preaching, praying, politics or poetry, I make you a present of it. Some people talk of impeaching John Adams; but I am for softer measures. I would keep him to make fun of. He will then answer one of the ends for which he was born, and he ought to be thankful that I am

arrived to take his part. I voted in earnest to save the life of one unfortunate king, and I now vote in jest to save another. It is my fate to be always plagued with fools.— But to return to federalism and apostacy.

The plan of the leaders of the faction was to overthrow the liberties of the new world and place Government on the corrupt system of the old. They wanted to hold their power by a more lasting tenure than the choice of their constituents. It is impossible to account for their conduct, and the measures they adopted, on any other ground. But to accomplish that object a standing army and a prodigal revenue must be raised ; and to obtain these, pretences must be invented to deceive. Alarms of dangers that did not exist even in imagination, but in the direct spirit of lying, were spread abroad. Apostacy stalked through the land in the garb of patriotism, and the torch of treason blinded for a while the flame of liberty.

For what purpose could an army of twenty-five thousand men be wanted ? A single reflection might have taught the most credulous that while the war raged between France and England, neither could spare a man to invade America. For what purpose then could it be wanted ? The case carries its own explanation. It was wanted for the purpose of destroying the representative system, for it could be employed for no other. Are these men federalists ? If they are they are federalized to deceive and to destroy.

The rage against Dr. Logan's patriotic and voluntary mission to France was excited by the shame they felt at the detection of the false alarms they had circulated.—As to the opposition given by the remnant of the faction to the repeal of the taxes laid on during the former administration it is easily accounted for. The repeal of those taxes was a sentence of condemnation on those who laid them on, and in the opposition they gave in that repeal they are to be considered in the light of criminals standing on their defence, and the country has passed judgment upon them.

THOMAS PAINE.

City of Washington, Lovett's Hotel,
Nov. 19, 1802.

LETTER III.

TO ELECT, and to REJECT, is the prerogative of a free people.

Since the establishment of independence no period has arrived that so decidedly proves the excellence of the representative system of government, and its superiority over every other, as the time we now live in. Had America been cursed with John Adams's *hereditary monarchy*, or Alexander Hamilton's *senate for life*, she must have sought in the doubtful contest of civil war, what she now obtains by the expression of public will. An appeal to elections decides better than an appeal to the sword.

The reign of terror that raged in America during the latter end of the Washington administration, and the whole of that of Adams, is enveloped in mystery to me. That there were men in the Government hostile to the representative system, though it is now their overthrow, was once their boast, and therefore the fact is established against them. But that so large a mass of the people should become the dupes of those who were loading them with taxes, in order to load them with chains and deprive them of the right of election, can be ascribed only to that species of wild-fire rage, lighted up by falsehood, that not only acts without reflection, but is too impetuous to make any.

There is a general and striking difference between the genuine effects of truth itself, and the effects of falsehoods believed to be truth. Truth is naturally benign; but falsehood believed to be truth is always furious. The former delights in serenity, is mild and persuasive, and seeks not the auxiliary aid of invention. The latter sticks at nothing. It has naturally no morals. Every lie is welcome that suits its purpose. It is the innate character of the thing to act in this manner, and the criterion by which it may be known whether in politics or religion. When any thing is attempted to be supported by lying, it is presumptive evidence that the

thing so supported is a lie also. The stock on which a lie can be engrafted must be of the same species of the graft.

What is become of the mighty clamour of French invasions, and the cry that our country is in danger and taxes and armies must be raised to defend it? The danger is fled with the faction that created it, and what is worst of all, the money is fled too. It is I only that have committed the hostility of invasion, and all the artillery of pop-guns are prepared for action. *Poor fellows*, how they foam! They set half their own partisans in laughter; for among ridiculous things nothing is more ridiculous than ridiculous rage. But I hope they will not leave off. I shall lose half my greatness when they cease to lie.

So far as respects myself I have reason to believe, and a right to say, that the leaders of the reign of terror in America and the leaders of the reign of terror in France, during the time of Robespierre, were in character the same sort of men, or how is it to be accounted for, that I was persecuted by both at the same time? When I was voted out of the French Convention, the reason assigned for it was, that I was a foreigner. When Robespierre had me seized in the night and imprisoned in the Luxemburgh (where I remained eleven months) he assigned no reason for it. But when he proposed bringing me to the tribunal, which was like sending me at once to the scaffold, he then assigned a reason, and the reason was *for the interest of America as well as of France.*—“*Pour l'interet de l'Amerique autant que de la France.*” The words are in his own hand-writing and reported to the Convention by the committee appointed to examine his papers, and are printed in their report, with this reflection added to them, “*Why Thomas Paine more than another? Because he contributed to the liberty of both worlds.*”

There must have been a coalition in sentiment, if not in fact, between the terrorists of America and the terrorists of France, and Robespierre must have known it, or he could not have had the idea of putting America into the bill of accusation against me. Yet these men, these terrorists of the new world, who were waiting in the devotion of their hearts for the joyful news of my destruction, are the same banditti who are now bellowing, in all the hacknied language of hacknied hypocrisy, about humanity, and piety, and often about something they call infidelity, and they finish with the

chorus of *Crucify him, crucify him*. I am become so famous among them, they cannot eat or drink without me. I serve them as a standing-dish, and they cannot make up a bill of fare if I am not in it.

But there is one dish, and that the choicest of all, they have not yet presented on the table, and it is time they should. They have not yet *accused Providence of infidelity*. Yet, according to their outrageous piety, she must be as bad as Thomas Paine; she has protected him in all his dangers, patronised him in all his undertakings, encouraged him in all his ways, and rewarded him at last by bringing him in safety and in health to the promised land. This is more than she did by the Jews, the chosen people, that they tell us she brought out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage; for they all died in the wilderness, and Moses too.

I was one of the nine members that composed the first Committee of Constitution. Six of them have been destroyed. Syeyes and myself have survived—he by bending with the times, and I by not bending. The other survivor joined Robespierre, he was seized and imprisoned in his turn and sentenced to transportation. He has since apologized to me for having signed the warrant, by saying, he felt himself in danger and was obliged to do it.

Herault Sechelles, an acquaintance of Mr. Jefferson, and a good patriot, was my *suppliant* as member of the Committee of Constitution, that is, he was to supply my place, if I had not accepted or resigned, being next in number of votes to me. He was imprisoned in the Luxemburg with me, was taken to the tribunal and the guillotine, and I, his principal, was left.

There were two foreigners in the Convention, Anarcharsis Cloots and myself. We were both put out of the Convention by the same vote, arrested by the same order, and carried to prison together the same night. He was taken to the guillotine, and I was again left. Joel Barlow was with us when we went to prison.

Joseph Lebon, one of the vilest characters that ever existed, and who made the streets of Arras run with blood, was my *suppliant* as member of the Convention for the department of the Pas de Calais. When I was put out of the Convention he came and took my place. When I was liberated from prison and voted again into the Convention, he was sent to the same prison and took my place there, and he was

sent to the guillotine instead of me. He supplied my place all the way through.

One hundred and sixty-eight persons were taken out of the Luxemburg in one night, and a hundred and sixty of them guillotined next day, of which I now know I was to have been one; and the manner I escaped that fate is curious, and has all the appearance of accident.

The room in which I was lodged was on the ground-floor, and one of a long range of rooms under a gallery, and the door of it opened outward and flat against the wall; so that when it was open the inside of the door appeared outward, and the contrary when it was shut. I had three comrades, fellow-prisoners with me, Joseph Vanhuile, of Bruges, since president of the municipality of that town, Michael, and Robbins Bastini, of Louvain.

When persons by scores and by hundreds were to be taken out of the prison for the guillotine it was always done in the night, and those who performed that office had a private mark or signal by which they knew what rooms to go to and what number to take. We, as I have said, were four, and the door of our room was marked, unobserved by us, with that number in chalk; but it happened, if happening is a proper word, that the mark was put on when the door was open and flat against the wall, and thereby came on the inside when we shut it at night, and the destroying angel passed by it. A few days after this Robespierre fell, and Mr. Munroe arrived and reclaimed me, and invited me to his house.

During the whole of my imprisonment, prior to the fall of Robespierre, there was no time when I could think my life worth twenty-four hours, and my mind was made up to meet its fate. The Americans in Paris went in a body to the Convention to reclaim me, but without success. There was no party among them with respect to me. My only hope then rested on the Government of America that it would *remember me*. But the icy heart of ingratitude, in whatever man it be placed, has neither feeling nor sense of honour. The letter of Mr. Jefferson has served to wipe away the reproach, and done justice to the mass of the people of America.

When a party was forming, in the latter end of seventy-seven and beginning of seventy-eight, of which John Adams was one, to remove Mr. Washington from the command of the army on the complaint that *he did nothing*, I wrote the

fifth number of the Crisis, and published it at Lancaster (Congress then being at York Town, in Pennsylvania) to ward off that meditated blow: for though I well knew that the black times of seventy-six was the natural consequence of his want of military judgment in the choice of positions into which the army was put about New York and Jersey, I could see no possible advantage, and nothing but mischief, that could arise by distracting the army into parties, which would have been the case had the intended motion gone on.

General Lee, who with a sarcastic genius joined a great fund of military knowledge, was perfectly right when he said, *We have no business on islands, and in the bottom of bogs, where the enemy, by the aid of its ships, can bring its whole force against a part of ours and shut it up.* This had like to have been the case at New York, and it was the case at Fort Washington, and would have been the case at Fort Lee if General Greene had not moved instantly off on the first news of the enemy's approach. I was with Greene through the whole of that affair, and know it perfectly.

But though I came forward in defence of Mr. Washington when he was attacked, and made the best that could be made of a series of blunders that had nearly ruined the country, he left me to perish when I was in prison. But as I told him of it in his life-time, I should not now bring it up, if the ignorant impertinence of some of the federal papers, who are pushing Mr. Washington forward as their stalking-horse, did not make it necessary.

That gentleman did not perform his part in the Revolution better, nor with more honour than I did mine, and the one part was as necessary as the other. He accepted as a present (though he was already rich) a hundred thousand acres of land in America, and left me to occupy six foot of earth in France. I wish, for his own reputation, he had acted with more justice. But it was always known of Mr. Washington, by those who best knew him, that he was of such an icy and death-like constitution, that he neither loved his friends, nor hated his enemies. But, be this as it may, I see no reason that a difference between Mr. Washington and me should be made a theme of discord with other people. There are those who may see merit in both, without making themselves partisans of either, and with this reflection I close the subject.

As to the hypocritical abuse thrown out by the federalists on other subjects, I recommend to them the observ-

ance of a commandment that existed before either Christian or Jew existed.

- “ Thou shalt make a covenant with thy senses,
- “ With thine eye, that it beholds no evil.
- “ With thine ear, that it hear no evil.
- “ With thy tongue, that it speak no evil.
- “ With thy hands that they commit no evils.

If the Federalists will follow this commandment, they will leave off lying.

THOMAS PAINE.

Federal City, Lovett's Hotel,
Nov. 26, 1802.

LETTER IV.

AS Congress is on the point of meeting, the public papers will necessarily be occupied with the debates of the ensuing session, and as in consequence of my long absence from America, my private affairs require my attendance (for it is necessary I do this, or I could not preserve, as I do, my independence,) I shall close my address to the public with this letter.

I congratulate them on the success of the late elections, and *that* with the additional confidence, that while honest men are chosen and wise measures pursued, neither the treason of apostacy, masked under the name of federalism, of which I have spoken in my second letter, nor the intrigues of foreign emissaries, acting in concert with that mask, can prevail.

As to the licentiousness of the papers calling themselves *federal*, a name that apostacy has taken, it can hurt nobody but the party or the persons who support such papers. There is naturally a wholesome pride in the public mind that revolts at open vulgarity. It feels itself dishonoured even by hearing it, as a chaste woman feels dishonour by hearing obscenity she cannot avoid. It can smile at wit, or be diverted with strokes of satirical humour, but it detests the *blackguard*. The same sense of propriety that governs in private companies, governs in public life. If a man in company runs his wit upon another, it may draw a smile from some persons present, but as soon as he turns a blackguard in his language, the company give him up; and it is the same in public life. The event of the late election shews this to be true; for in proportion as those papers have become more and more vulgar and abusive, the elections have gone more and more against the party they support, or that supports them. Their predecessor, *Porcupine*, had wit—these scribblers have none. But as soon as his *blackguardism* (for it is the proper name of it) outrun his wit,

he was abandoned by every body but the English minister that protected him.

The Spanish proverb says, "*there never was a cover large enough to hide itself*;" and the proverb applies to the case of those papers and the shattered remnant of the faction that supports them. The falsehoods they fabricate, and the abuse they circulate, is a cover to hide something from being seen, but is not large enough to hide itself. It is as a tub thrown out to the whale to prevent its attacking and sinking the vessel. They want to draw the attention of the public from thinking about, or inquiring into, the measures of the late administration, and the reason why so much public money was raised and expended; and so far as a lie to-day, and a new one to-morrow, will answer this purpose, it answers theirs. It is nothing to them whether they be believed or not, for if the negative purpose be answered the main point is answered to them.

He that picks your pocket always tries to make you look another way. "Look," says he, "at yon man t'other side the street—what a nose he has got!—Lord, yonder is a chimney on fire!—Do you see yon man going along in the salamander great coat? That is the very man that stole one of Jupiter's satellites, and sold it to a countryman for a gold watch, and it set his breeches on fire!" Now the man that has his hand in your pocket, does not care a farthing whether you believe what he says or not. All his aim is to prevent your looking at *him*; and this is the case with the remnant of the federal faction. The leaders of it have imposed upon the country, and they want to turn the attention of it from the subject.

In taking up any public matter, I have never made it a consideration, and never will, whether it be popular or unpopular—but whether it be *right or wrong*. The right will always become the popular, if it has courage to shew itself, and the shortest way is always a straight line. I despise expedients, they are the gutter-hole of politics, and the sink where reputation dies. In the present case, as in every other, I cannot be accused of using any; and I have no doubt but thousands will hereafter be ready to say, as *Governor Morris* said to me, after having abused me pretty handsomely in Congress, for the opposition I gave the fraudulent demand of *Silas Deane* of two thousand pounds sterling—"Well!—we were all duped, and I among the rest!"

Were the late administration to be called upon to give

reasons for the expence it put the country to, it can give none. The danger of an invasion was a bubble that served as a cover to raise taxes and armies to be employed on some other purpose. But if the people of America believed it true, the cheerfulness with which they supported those measures and paid those taxes, is an evidence of their patriotism; and if they supposed me their enemy, though in that supposition they did me injustice, it was not injustice in them. He that acts, as he believes, though he may act wrong, is not conscious of wrong.

But though there was no danger, no thanks are due to the late administration for it. They sought to blow up a flame between the two countries; and so intent were they upon this, that they went out of their way to accomplish it. In a letter which the Secretary of State, Timothy Pickering, wrote to Mr. Skipwith, the American Consul at Paris, he broke off from the official subject of his letter, to *thank God*, in very exulting language, *that the Russians had cut the French army to pieces*. Mr. Skipwith, after shewing me the letter, very prudently concealed it.

It was the injudicious and wicked acrimony of this letter and some other like conduct of the then Secretary of State, that occasioned me, in a letter to a friend in the Government, to say, that if there was any official business to be done in France, till a regular minister could be appointed, it could not be trusted to a more proper person than Mr. Skipwith.

“*He is,*” said I, “*an honest man, and will do business, and that with good manners to the Government he is commissioned to act with. A faculty which that BEAR, Timothy Pickering, wanted, and which the BEAR of that BEAR, John Adams, never possessed.*”

In another letter to the same friend in 1797, and which was put unsealed under cover to Colonel Burr, I expressed a satisfaction that Mr. Jefferson, since he was not President, had accepted the Vice-Presidency, “*for,*” said I, “*John Adams has such a talent for blundering and offending, it will be necessary to keep an eye over him.*” He has now sufficiently proved, that though I have not the spirit of prophecy, I have the gift of *judging right*. And all the world knows, for it cannot help knowing, that to judge *rightly*, and to write *clearly*, and that upon all sorts of subjects; to be able to command thought, and, as it were, to play with it at pleasure, and be always master of one’s temper in writing, is the faculty only of a serene mind, and the attribute of

a happy and philosophical temperance. The scribblers, who know me not, and who fill their papers with paragraphs about me, besides their want of talents, drink too many slings and drams in a morning, to have any chance with me. But, poor fellows! they must do something for the little pitance they get from their employers. This is my apology for them.

My anxiety to get back to America, was great for many years. It is the country of my heart, and the place of my political and literary birth. It was the American Revolution that made me an author, and forced into action the mind that had been dormant, and had no wish for public life, nor has it now. By the accounts I received, she appeared to me to be going wrong, and that some meditated treason against her liberties lurked at the bottom of her Government. I heard that my friends were oppressed, and I longed to take my standing among them, and if "*other times to try mens' souls*" were to arrive, that I might bear my share. But my efforts to return were ineffectual.

As soon as Mr. Monroe had made a good standing with the French Government, for the conduct of his predecessor had made his reception as minister difficult, he wanted to send dispatches to his own Government by a person to whom he could confide a verbal communication, and he fixed his choice on me. He then applied to the Committee of Public Safety for a passport; but as I had been voted again into the Convention, it was only the Convention that could give the passport; and as an application to them for that purpose would have made my going publicly known, I was obliged to sustain the disappointment, and Mr. Monroe to lose the opportunity.

When that gentleman left France to return to America, I was to have gone with him. It was fortunate I did not. The vessel he sailed in was visited by a British frigate, that searched every part of it, and down to the hold, for Thomas Paine. I then went, the same year, to embark at Havre. But several British frigates were cruising in sight of the port who knew I was there, and I had to return again to Paris. Seeing myself thus cut off from every opportunity that was in my power to command, I wrote to Mr. Jefferson, that, if the fate of the election should put him in the chair of the presidency, and he should have occasion to send a frigate to France, he would give me the opportunity of returning by it, which he did. But I declined coming by the Maryland, the vessel that was offered me, and waited for

the frigate that was to bring the new minister, Mr. Chancellor Livingston, to France; but that frigate was ordered round to the Mediterranean; and as at that time the war was over, and the British cruisers called in, I could come any way. I then agreed to come with Commodore Barney in a vessel he had engaged. It was again fortunate I did not, for the vessel sunk at sea, and the people were preserved in the boat.

Had half the number of evils befallen me that the number of dangers amount to through which I have been preserved, there are those who would ascribe it to the wrath of heaven; why then do they not ascribe my preservation to the protecting favour of heaven. Even in my worldly concerns I have been blessed. The little property I left in America, and which I cared nothing about, not even to receive the rent of it, has been increasing in the value of its capital more than eight hundred dollars every year, for the fourteen years and more that I have been absent from it. I am now in my circumstances independent; and my economy makes me rich. As to my health, it is perfectly good, and I leave the world to judge of the stature of my mind. I am in every instance a living contradiction to the mortified Federalists.

In my publications, I follow the rule I began with in *Common Sense*, that is, to consult nobody, nor let any body see what I write till it appears publicly. Were I to do otherwise, the case would be, that between the timidity of some, who are so afraid of doing wrong that they never do right, the puny judgment of others, and the despicable craft of preferring *expedient to right*, as if the world was a world of babies in leading-strings, I should get forward with nothing. My path is a right line, as strait and clear to me as a ray of light. The boldness (if they will have it to be so) with which I speak on any subject is a compliment to the judgment of the reader. It is like saying to him, *I treat you as a man and not as a child*. With respect to any worldly object, as it is impossible to discover any in me, therefore what I do, and my manner of doing it, ought to be ascribed to a good motive.

In a great affair, where the happiness of man is at stake, I love to work for nothing; and so fully am I under the influence of this principle, that I should lose the spirit, the pleasure, and the pride of it, were I conscious that I looked for reward; and with this declaration I take my leave for the present.

THOMAS PAINE.

Federal City, Lovett's Hotel,
Dec. 3, 1802.

LETTER V.

IT is always the interest of a far greater part of the nation to have a thing right than to have it wrong ; and, therefore, in a country whose Government is founded on the system of election and representation, the fate of every party is decided by its principles.

As this system is the only form and principle of Government by which liberty can be preserved, and the only one that can embrace all the varieties of a great extent of country, it necessarily follows, that to have the representation real, the election must be real : and that where the election is a fiction, the representation is a fiction also. *Like will always produce like.*

A great deal has been said and written concerning the conduct of Mr. Burr during the late contest in the Federal Legislature, whether Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Burr should be declared President of the United States. Mr. Burr has been accused of intriguing to obtain the Presidency. Whether this charge be substantiated or not makes little or no part of the purport of this letter. There is a point of much higher importance to attend to than any thing that relates to the individual, Mr. Burr ; for the great point is not whether Mr. Burr has intrigued, but whether the Legislature has intrigued with *him*.

Mr. Ogden, a relation of one of the Senators of New Jersey of the same name, and of the party assuming the style of Federalists, has written a letter published in the New York papers, signed with his name, the purport of which is, to exculpate Mr. Burr from the charges brought against him. In this letter he says,

“ When about to return from Washington, two or three *members of Congress* of the Federal party spoke to me of *their views*, as to the election of a President, desiring me to converse with Col. Burr on the subject, and to ascertain *whether he would enter into terms*. On my return to New

York I called on Col. Burr, and communicated the above to him. He explicitly declined the explanation, and did neither propose nor agree to any terms."

How nearly is human cunning allied to folly! The animals to whom nature has given the faculty we call *cunning*, know always when to use it, and use it wisely; but when man descends to cunning he blunders and betrays.

Mr. Ogden's letter is intended to exculpate Mr. Burr from the charge of intriguing to obtain the Presidency; and the letter that he (Ogden) writes for this purpose is direct evidence against his party in Congress, that they intrigued with Burr to obtain him for President, and employed him (Ogden) for the purpose. To save *Aaron*, he betrays *Moses*, and turns informer against the *Golden Calf*.

It is but of little importance to the world to know if Mr. Burr *listened* to an intriguing proposal, but it is of great importance to the constituents to know if their representatives in Congress made one. The ear can commit no crime, but the tongue may; and therefore, the right policy is to drop Mr. Burr as being only the hearer, and direct the whole charge against the Federal faction in Congress as the active original culprit, or, if the priests will have scripture for it, as the serpent that beguiled Eve.

The plot of the intrigue was to make Mr. Burr, President, on the private condition of his agreeing to, and entering into terms with them, that is, with the proposers. Had then this election been made, the country, knowing nothing of this private and illegal transaction, would have supposed, for who could have supposed otherwise, that it had a President according to the forms, principles, and intention of the constitution. No such thing. Every form, principle and intention of the constitution would have been violated; and instead of a President, it would have had a mute, a sort of image, hand-bound and tongue-tied, the dupe and slave of a party, placed on the theatre of the United States, and acting the farce of President.

It is of little importance, in a constitutional sense, to know what the terms to be proposed might be, because any terms other than those which the constitution prescribes to a President is criminal. Neither do I see how Mr. Burr, or any other person put in the same condition, could have taken the oath prescribed by the constitution to a President, which is, "*I do solemnly swear, (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States.*"

How, I ask, could such a person have taken such an oath, knowing at the same time that he had entered into the Presidency on terms unknown in the constitution, and private, and which would deprive him of the freedom and power of acting as President of the United States, agreeably to his constitutional oath ?

Mr. Burr, by not agreeing to terms, has escaped the danger to which they exposed him, and the perjury that would have followed, and also the punishment annexed thereto. Had he accepted the Presidency on terms unknown in the constitution, and private, and had the transaction afterwards transpired (which it most probably would, for roguery is a thing difficult to conceal) it would have produced a sensation in the country too violent to be quieted, and too just to be resisted ; and in any case the election must have been void.

But what are we to think of those members of Congress, who having taken an oath of the same constitutional import as the oath of the President, violate that oath by tampering to obtain a President on private conditions. If this is not sedition against the constitution and the country, it is difficult to define what sedition in a representative can be.

Say not that this statement of the case is the effect of personal or party resentment. No. It is the effect of *sincere concern* that such corruption, of which this is but a sample, should, in the short space of a few years, have crept into a country, that had the fairest opportunity that Providence ever gave, within the knowledge of history, of making itself an illustrious example to the world.

What the terms were, or were to be, it is probable we shall never know ; or what is more probable, that feigned ones, if any, will be given. But from the conduct of the party since that time, we may conclude, that no taxes would have been taken off, that the clamour for war would have been kept up, new expences incurred, and taxes and offices increased in consequence ; and among the articles of a private nature, that the leaders in this seditious traffic were to stipulate with the mock President for lucrative appointments for themselves.

But if these plotters against the constitution understood their business, and they had been plotting long enough to be masters of it, a single article would have comprehended every thing, which is,

That the President (thus made) should be governed in all cases whatsoever by a private junto appointed by themselves.

They could then, through the medium of a mock President have negatived all bills which the party in Congress could not have opposed with success, and reduced representation to a nullity.

The country has been imposed upon, and the real culprits are but few; and as it is necessary for the peace, harmony, and honour, of the union, to separate the deceiver from the deceived, the betrayer from the betrayed, that men who once were friends, and that in the worst of times, should be friends again, it is necessary, as a beginning, that this dark business be brought to a full investigation. Ogden's letter is direct evidence of the fact of tampering to obtain a conditional President. He knows the two or three members of Congress that commissioned him, and they know who commissioned them.

THOMAS PAINE.

Federal City, Lovett's Hotel,
Jan. 29th, 1803.

LETTER VI.

THE malignant mind, like the jaundiced eye, sees every thing through a false medium of its own creating. The light of Heaven appears stained with yellow to the distempered sight of the one ; and the fairest actions have the form of crimes in the venomd imagination of the other.

For several months, both before and after my return to America, in October last, the apostate papers, styling themselves federal, were filled with paragraphs and essays respecting a letter from Mr. Jefferson to me at Paris, and though none of them knew the contents of the letter, nor the occasion of writing it, malignity taught them to suppose it, and the lying tongue of injustice lent them its aid.

That the public may be no longer imposed upon by federal apostacy, I will now publish the letter, and the occasion of its being written.

The treaty negotiated in England by John Jay, and ratified by the Washington administration, had so disgracefully surrendered the right and freedom of the American flag, that all the commerce of the United States on the ocean became exposed to capture, and suffered in consequence of it. The duration of the treaty was limited to two years after the war ; and consequently, America could not, during that period, relieve herself from the chains which that treaty had fixed upon her.

This being the case, the only relief that could come must arise out of something originating in Europe, that would, in its consequences extend to America. It had long been my opinion that commerce contained within itself the means of its own protection ; but as the time for bringing forward any new system is not always happening, it is necessary to watch its approach, and lay hold of it before it passes away.

As soon as the late Emperor Paul of Russia abandoned his coalition with England, and became a neutral power, this crisis of time, and also of circumstance, was then arriving ;

and I employed it in arranging a plan for the protection of the commerce of neutral nations during war, that might, in its operation and consequences, relieve the commerce of America. The plan, with the pieces accompanying it, consisted of about forty pages. The Citizen Bonneville, with whom I lived in Paris, translated it into French. Mr. Skipwith, the American consul, Joel Barlow, and myself, had the translation printed and distributed as a present to the foreign ministers of all the neutral nations then resident in Paris. This was in the summer of 1800.

It was intitled Maritime Compact (in French, *Pacte Maritime*). The plan, exclusive of the pieces that accompanied it, consisted of the following preamble and articles.

MARITIME COMPACT

Being an Unarmed Association of Nations for the protection of the rights and commerce of Nations that shall be neutral in time of war.

Whereas, the vexations and injuries to which the rights and commerce of neutral nations have been, and continue to be, exposed during the time of maritime war, render it necessary to establish a law of nations for the purpose of putting an end to such vexations and injuries, and to guarantee to the neutral nations the exercise of their just rights.

We, therefore, the undersigned powers, form ourselves into an association, and establish the following as a law of nations on the seas.

ARTICLE I.

Definition of the rights of neutral nations.

The rights of nations, such as are exercised by them in their intercourse with each other in time of peace, are, and of right ought to be, the rights of neutral nations at all times; because,

First, Those rights not having been abandoned by them, remain with them.

Secondly, Because, those rights cannot become forfeited, or void, in consequence of war breaking out between two or more other nations.

A war of nation against nation being exclusively the act of the nations that make the war, and not the act of the neutral nations, cannot, whether considered in itself or in its consequences, destroy or diminish the rights of the nations remaining in peace.

ARTICLE II.

The ships and vessels of nations that rest neuter and at peace with the world during a war with other nations, have a right to navigate freely on the seas as they navigated before that war broke out, and to proceed to and enter the port or ports of any of the belligerent powers, *with the consent of that power*, without being seized, searched, visited, or any ways interrupted, by the nation or nations with which that nation is at war.

ARTICLE III.

For the conservation of the aforesaid rights, *we*, the undersigned powers, engaging to each other our sacred faith and honour, declare,

That if any belligerent power shall seize, search, visit, or any ways interrupt any ship or vessel belonging to the citizens or subjects of any of the powers composing this association, then each and all of the said undersigned powers will cease to import, and will not permit to be imported into the ports or dominions of any of the said undersigned powers, in any ship or vessel whatever, any goods, wares, or merchandize, produced or manufactured in, or exported from, the dominions of the power so offending against the association hereby established and proclaimed.

ARTICLE IV.

That all the ports appertaining to any and all of the powers composing this association shall be shut against the flag of the offending nation.

ARTICLE V.

That no remittance or payment in money, merchandize, or bills of exchange, shall be made by any of the citizens, or subjects, of any of the powers composing this association, to the citizens or subjects of the offending nation, for the term of one year, or until reparation be made. The reparation to be times the amount of the da-
mages sustained.

ARTICLE VI.

If any ship or vessel appertaining to any of the citizens or subjects of any of the powers composing this association shall be seized, searched, visited, or interrupted, by any bel-

ligerent nation, or be forcibly prevented entering the port of her destination, or be seized, searched, visited or interrupted, in coming out of such port, or be forcibly prevented from proceeding to any new destination, or be insulted or visited by any agent from on board any vessel of any belligerent power, the Government or executive power of the nation to which the ship or vessel so seized, searched, visited or interrupted belongs, shall, on evidence of the fact, make public proclamation of the same, and send a copy thereof to the Government, or executive, of each of the powers composing this association, who shall publish the same in all the extent of his dominions, together with a declaration, that at the expiration of _____ days after the publication, the final articles of this association shall be put in execution against the offending nation.

ARTICLE VII.

If reparation be not made within the space of one year, the said proclamation shall be renewed for one year more, and so on.

ARTICLE VIII.

The association chooses for itself a flag to be carried at the mast-head conjointly with the national flag of each nation composing this association.

The flag of the association shall be composed of the same colours as compose the rain-bow, and arranged in the same order as they appear in that phenomenon.

ARTICLE IX.

And whereas it may happen that one or more of the nations composing this association may be, at the time of forming it engaged in war, or become so in future, in that case, the ships and vessels of such nation shall carry the flag of the association bound round the mast, to denote that the nation to which she belongs is a member of the association and a respecter of the laws.

N. B. This distinction in the manner of carrying the flag is merely for the purpose, that neutral vessels having the flag at the mast-head, may be known at first sight.

ARTICLE X.

And whereas it is contrary to the moral principles of neutrality and peace, that any neutral nation should furnish to the belligerent powers, or any of them, the means of carry-

ing on war against each other; we, therefore, the powers, composing this association, declare that we will, each one for itself, prohibit in our dominions the exportation or transportation of military stores, comprehending gun-powder, cannon, and cannon-balls, fire-arms of all kinds, and all kinds of iron and steel weapons used in war, excluding therefrom all kinds of utensils and instruments used in civil or domestic life, and every other article that cannot, in its immediate state, be employed in war.

Having thus declared the moral motives of the foregoing article, we declare also the civil and political intentions thereof, to wit.

That as belligerent nations have no right to visit or search any ship or vessel belonging to a nation at peace, and under the protection of the laws and government thereof, and as all such visit or search is an insult to the nation to which such ship or vessel belongs, and to the government of the same, we, therefore, the powers composing this association, will take the right of prohibition on ourselves, to whom it properly belongs, and by whom only it can be legally exercised, and not permit foreign nations, in a state of war, to usurp the right of legislating, by proclamation, for any of the citizens or subjects of the powers composing this association.

It is, therefore, in order to take away all pretence of search or visit, which, by being offensive, might become a new cause of war, that we will provide laws, and publish them by proclamation, each in his own dominion, to prohibit the supplying, or carrying to, the belligerent powers, or either of them, the military stores, or articles before mentioned, annexing thereto a penalty to be levied or inflicted upon any persons within our several dominions, transgressing the same. And we invite all persons, as well of the belligerent nations as of our own, or any other, to give information of any knowledge they may have of any transgression against the said law, that the offenders may be prosecuted.

By this conduct we restore the word *contraband* [*contra* and *ban*] to its true and original signification, which means against law, edict, or proclamation; and none but the government of a nation can have, or can exercise, the right of making laws, edicts, or proclamations, for the conduct of its citizens or subjects.

Now we, the undersigned powers, declare the aforesaid articles to be a law of nations, at all times, or until a congress of nations shall meet to form some law more effectual,

And we do recommend that immediately on the breaking out of war between any two or more nations, that deputies be appointed by all the neutral nations, whether members of this association or not, to meet in congress, in some central place, to take cognizance of any violations of the rights of neutral nations.

Signed, &c.

For the purpose of giving operation to the aforesaid plan of an unarmed association, the following paragraph was subjoined :

It may be judged proper for the order of business, that the association of nations have a President for a term of years, and the Presidency to pass by rotation, to each of the parties composing the association.

In that case, and for the sake of regularity, the first President to be the executive power of the most northerly nation composing the association, and his deputy or minister at the congress to be President of the congress, and the next most northerly to be Vice-President, who shall succeed to the Presidency, and so on. The line determining the geographical situation of each to be the latitude of the capital of each nation.

If this method be adopted, it will be proper that the first President be nominally constituted in order to give rotation to the rest. In that case the following article might be added to the foregoing, viz. The constitution of the association nominates the Emperor Paul to be first President of the association of nations for the protection of neutral commerce, and the securing the freedom of the seas."

The foregoing plan, as I have before mentioned, was presented to the ministers of all neutral nations then in Paris, in the summer of 1800. Six copies were given to the Russian general Springporten; and a Russian gentleman who was going to St. Petersburg took two, expressly for the purpose of putting them into the hands of Paul. I sent the original manuscript, in my own hand-writing, to Mr. Jefferson, and also wrote him four letters, dated the 1st, 4th, 6th, and 16th of October, 1800, giving him an account of what was then going on in Europe, respecting neutral commerce.

The case was, that in order to compel the English Government to acknowledge the rights of neutral commerce, and that free ships make free goods, the Emperor Paul, in the month of September following the publication of the plan, shut all the ports of Russia against England. Sweden

and Denmark did the same by their ports, and Denmark shut up Hamburgh. Prussia shut up the Elbe and the Weser. The ports of Spain, Portugal, and Naples were shut up, and in general, all the ports of Italy, except Venice, which the Emperor of Germany held, and had it not been for the untimely death of Paul, a law of nations, founded on the authority of nations, for establishing the rights of neutral commerce and the freedom of the seas, would have been proclaimed, and the Government of England must have consented to that law, or the nation must have lost its commerce: and the consequence to America would have been, that such a law would in a great measure, if not entirely, have released her from the injuries of Jay's treaty.

Of all these matters I informed Mr. Jefferson. This was before he was President, and the letter he wrote me after he was President was in answer to those I had written to him, and the manuscript copy of the plan I had sent him. Here follows the letter.

Washington, March 18th, 1801.

Dear Sir,

Your letters of Oct. 1st, 4th, 6th, and 16th came duly to hand, and the papers which they covered were, according to your permission, published in the newspapers, and in a pamphlet, and under your own name.* These papers contain precisely our principles, and I hope they will be generally recognized here. Determined as we are to avoid, if possible, wasting the energies of our people, in war and destruction, we shall avoid implicating ourselves with the powers of Europe, even in support of principles which we mean to pursue. They have so many other interests different from ours, that we must avoid being entangled in them. We believe we can enforce those principles as to ourselves by peaceable means, now that we are likely to have our public councils detached from foreign views. The return of our citizens from the phrenzy into which they had been wrought partly by ill conduct in France, partly by artifices practiced upon them, is almost entire, and will, I believe, become quite so. But these details, too minute and long for a letter, will be better developed by Mr. Dawson, the bearer of this, a member of the late Congress, to whom I refer you for them.

* The plan, with the papers accompanying it, were published by S. H. Smith, of the Federal City.

He goes in the Maryland sloop of war, which will wait a few days at Havre to receive his letters to be written on his arrival at Paris. You expressed a wish to get a passage to this country in a public vessel. Mr. Dawson is charged with orders to the Captain of the Maryland to receive, and accommodate you back if you can be ready to depart at such a short warning. Rob. R. Livingston is appointed minister plenipotentiary to the republic of France, but will not leave this, till we receive the ratification of the convention by Mr. Dawson. I am in hopes you will find us returned generally to sentiments worthy of former times. In these it will be your glory to have steadily laboured and with as much effect as any man living. That you may long live to continue your useful labours and to reap the reward in the thankfulness of nations is my sincere prayer. Accept assurances of my high esteem and affectionate attachments.

TH. JEFFERSON.

This, citizens of the United States, is the letter about which the leaders and tools of the federal faction, without knowing its contents or the occasion of writing it, have wasted so many malignant falsehoods. It is a letter which on account of its wise economy, and peaceable principles, and its forbearance to reproach, will be read by every good man and every good citizen with pleasure, and the faction, mortified at its appearance, will have to regret that they forced it into publication. The least atonement they can now offer is to make the letter as public as they have made their own infamy, and learn to lie no more.

The same injustice they shewed to Mr. Jefferson they shewed to me. I had employed myself in Europe, and at my own expence, in forming and promoting a plan that would, in its operation, have benefited the commerce of America; and the federal faction here invented and circulated an account in the papers they employ, that I had given a plan to the French for burning all the towns on the coast from Savaannah to Baltimore. Were I to prosecute them for this, and I do not promise that I will not, for the liberty of the press is not the liberty of lying) there is not a federal judge, not even one of midnight appointment, but must, from the nature of the case, be obliged to condemn them. The faction, however, cannot complain, they have not been restrained in any thing. They have had their full swing of lying uncontradicted; they have availed themselves, unopposed, of all the arts hypocrisy could devise;

and the event has been, what, in all such cases it ever will, and ought to be, *the ruin of themselves*.

The characters of the late and present administrations are now sufficiently marked, and the adherents of each keep up the distinction. The former administration rendered itself notorious by outrage, coxcombical parade, false alarms, a continued increase of taxes, and an unceasing clamour for war; and as every vice has a virtue opposed to it, the present administration moves on the direct contrary line. The question, therefore, at elections, is not properly a question upon persons, but upon principles. Those who are for peace, moderate taxes, and mild government, will vote for the administration that conducts itself by those principles, in whatever hands that administration may be.

There are in the United States, and particularly in the middle states, several religious sects, whose leading moral principle is PEACE. It is, therefore, impossible that such persons, consistently with the dictates of that principle, can vote for an administration that is clamorous for war. When moral principles, rather than persons, are candidates for power, to vote is to perform a moral duty, and not to vote is to neglect a duty.

That persons who were hunting after places, offices, and contracts, should be advocates for war, taxes and extravagance, is not to be wondered at; but that so large a portion of the people who had nothing to depend upon but their industry, and no other public prospect but that of paying taxes, and bearing the burden, should be advocates for the same measures is a thoughtlessness not easily accounted for. But reason is recovering her empire, and the fog of delusion is clearing away.

THOMAS PAINE.

Bordentown, on the Delaware,
New Jersey, April 21, 1803.

LETTER VII.

RELIGION and war is the cry of the federalists; morality and peace the voice of republicans. The union of morality and peace is congenial; but that of religion and war is a paradox, and the solution of it is hypocrisy.

The leaders of the federalists have no judgement; their plans no consistency of parts; and want of consistency is the natural consequence of want of principle.

They exhibit to the world the curious spectacle of an *opposition* without a *cause*, and conduct without system. Were they, as doctors, to prescribe medicine as they practise politics, they would poison their patients with destructive compounds.

There are not two things more opposed to each other than war and religion; and yet, in the double game those leaders have to play, the one is necessarily the theme of their politics, and the other the text of their sermons. The week-day orator of Mars, and the Sunday preacher of Federal Grace, play, like gamblers, into each other's hands, and this they call religion.

Though hypocrisy can counterfeit every virtue, and become the associate of every vice, it requires a great dexterity of craft to give it the power of deceiving. A painted sun may glisten but it cannot warm. For hypocrisy to personate virtue successfully it must know and feel what virtue is, and as it cannot long do this it cannot long deceive. When an orator foaming for war, breathes forth in another sentence a *plaintive piety of words*, he may as well write HYPOCRISY on his front.

The late attempt of the federal leaders in Congress (for they acted without the knowledge of their constituents) to plunge the country into war, merits not only reproach, but

indignation. It was madness, conceived in ignorance and acted in wickedness. The head and the heart went partners in the crime.

A neglect of punctuality in the performance of a treaty is made a *cause* of war by the *Barbary Powers*, and of remonstrance and explanation by *civilized powers*. The Mahometans of Barbary negotiate by the sword—they seize first, and expostulate afterwards; and the federal leaders have been labouring to *barbarise* the United States by adopting the practice of the Barbary states, and this they call honour. Let their honour and their hypocrisy go weep together, for both are defeated. The present administration is too moral for hypocrites, and too economical for public spendthrifts.

A man, the least acquainted with diplomatic affairs, must know that a neglect in punctuality is not one of the legal causes of war, unless that neglect be confirmed by a refusal to perform; and even then it depends upon circumstances connected with it. The world would be in continual quarrels and war, and commerce be annihilated, if Algerine policy was the law of nations. And were America instead of becoming an example to the Old World of good and moral government and civil manners, or, if they like it better, of gentlemanly conduct towards other nations, to set up the character of ruffian, that of *word and a blow, and the blow first*, and thereby give the example of pulling down the little that civilization has gained upon barbarism, her independence, instead of being an honour and a blessing would become a curse upon the world and upon herself.

The conduct of the Barbary powers, though unjust in principle, is suited to their prejudices, situation, and circumstances. The crusades of the church to exterminate them, fixed in their minds the unobliterated belief that every Christian power was their mortal enemy. Their religious prejudices, therefore, suggest the policy, which their situation and circumstances protect them in. As a people, they are neither commercial nor agricultural, they neither import nor export; have no property floating on the seas, nor ships and cargoes in the ports of foreign nations. No retaliation, therefore, can be acted upon them, and they sin secure from punishment.

But this is not the case with the United States. If she sins as a Barbary power she must answer for it as a civilized one. Her commerce is continually passing on the seas exposed to capture, and her ships and cargoes in foreign ports

to detention and reprisal. An act of war committed by her in the Mississippi would produce a war against the commerce of the Atlantic States, and the latter would have to curse the policy that provoked the former. In every point, therefore, in which the character and interest of the United States be considered, it would ill become her to set an example contrary to the policy and custom of civilized powers, and practised only by the Barbary powers, that of striking before she expostulates.

But can any man, calling himself a legislator, and supposed by his constituents to know something of his duty, be so ignorant as to imagine that seizing on New Orleans would finish the affair or even contribute towards it. On the contrary it would have made it worse. The treaty right of deposit at New Orleans, and the right of the navigation of the Mississippi into the Gulph of Mexico are distant things. New Orleans is more than an hundred miles in the country from the mouth of the river, and, as a place of deposit, is of no value if the mouth of the river be shut, which either France or Spain could do, and which our possession of New Orleans could neither prevent or remove. New Orleans in our possession, by an act of hostility, would have become a blockaded port, and consequently of no value to the Western people as a place of deposit. Since, therefore, an interruption had arisen to the commerce of the Western States, and until the matter could be brought to a fair explanation, it was of less injury to have the port shut and the river open, than to have the river shut, and the port in our possession.

That New Orleans could be taken, required no stretch of policy to plan, nor spirit of enterprize to affect. It was like marching behind a man to knock him down; and the dastardly slyness of such an attack would have stained the fame of the United States. Where there is no danger, cowards are bold, and Captain Bobadil's are to be found in the senate as well as on the stage. Even *Gouverneur* on such a march, dare have shewn a leg.

The people of the Western country to whom the Mississippi serves as an inland sea to their commerce, must be supposed to understand the circumstances of that commerce better than a man who is a stranger to it; and as they have shewn no approbation of the war-whoop measures of the federal senators, it becomes presumptive evidence they disprove them. This is a new mortification to those war-whoop

politicians; for the case is, that finding themselves losing ground and withering away in the Atlantic States, they laid hold of the affair of New Orleans, in the vain hope of rooting and reinforcing themselves in the Western States; and they did this without perceiving that it was one of those ill judged hypocritical expedients in politics, that whether it succeeded or failed the event would be the same. Had their motion succeeded, it would have endangered the commerce of the Atlantic States and ruined their reputation there; and on the other hand the attempt to make a tool of the Western people was so badly concealed as to extinguish all credit with them.

But hypocrisy is a vice of a sanguine constitution. It flatters and promises itself every thing; and it has yet to learn, with respect to moral and political reputation it is less dangerous to offend than to deceive.

To the measures of administration, supported by the firmness and integrity of the majority in Congress, the United States owe, as far as human means are concerned, the preservation of peace and of national honour. The confidence which the Western people reposed in the government and their representatives is rewarded with success. They are reinstated in their rights with the least possible loss of time; and their harmony with the people of New-Orleans, so necessary to the prosperity of the United States, which would have been broken, and the seeds of discord sown in its place, had hostilities been preferred to accommodation, remains unimpaired. Have the federal ministers of the church meditated on these matters? and laying aside as they ought to do, their electioneering and vindictive prayers and sermons, returned thanks that peace is preserved and commerce without the stain of blood.

In the pleasing contemplation of this state of things the mind, by comparison, carries itself back to those days of uproar and extravagance that marked the career of the former administration, and decides, by the unstudied impulse of its own feelings, that something must then have been wrong. Why was it, that America, formed for happiness, and remote by situation and circumstances from the troubles and tumults of the European world, became plunged into its vortex and contaminated with its crimes? the answer is easy. Those who were then at the head of affairs were apostates from the principles of the revolution. Raised to an elevation they had not a right to expect, nor judgment to

conduct, they became like feathers in the air, and blown about by every puff of passion or conceit.

Candour would find some apology for their conduct if want of judgment was their only defect. But error and crime, though often alike in their features, are distant in their characters and in their origin. The one has its source in the weakness of the head, the other in the badness of the heart, and the coalition of the two describes the former administration.

Had no injurious consequences arisen from the conduct of that administration it might have passed for error or imbecility, and been permitted to die and be forgotten. The grave is kind to innocent offence. But even innocence when it is a cause of injury ought to undergo an enquiry.

The country, during the time of the former administration, was kept in continual agitation and alarm; and that no investigation might be made into its conduct it entrenched itself within a magic circle of terror, and called it a **SEDITION LAW**. Violent and mysterious in its measures and arrogant in its manners, it affected to disdain information and insulted the principles that raised it from obscurity. John Adams and Timothy Pickering were men whom nothing but the accidents of the times rendered visible on the political horizon. Elevation turned their heads, and public indignation hath cast them to the ground. But an enquiry into the conduct and measures of that administration is nevertheless necessary.

The country was put to great expence. Loans, taxes, and standing armies became the standing order of the day. The militia, said Secretary Pickering, are not to be depended upon, and fifty thousand men must be raised. For what? no cause to justify such measures has yet appeared. No discovery of such a cause has yet been made. The pretended sedition law shut up the sources of investigation, and the precipitate flight of John Adams closed the scene. But the matter ought not to sleep here.

It is not to gratify resentment, or encourage it in others, that I enter upon this subject. It is not in the power of man to accuse me of a persecuting spirit. But some explanation ought to be had. The motives and objects respecting the extraordinary and expensive measures of the former administration ought to be known. The sedition law, that shield of the moment, prevented it then, and justice demands it now. If the public have been imposed upon, it is proper

they should know it, for where judgement is to act, or a choice to be made, knowledge is first necessary. The conciliation of parties, if it does not grow out of explanation, partakes of the character of collusion or indifference.

There has been guilt somewhere; and it is better to fix it where it belongs, and separate the deceiver from the deceived, than that suspicion, the bane of society, should range at large, and sour the public mind. The military measures that were proposed and carrying on during the former administration could not have for their object the defence of the country against invasion. This is a case that decides itself; for it is self-evident that while the war raged in Europe, neither France nor England could spare a man to send to America. The object therefore must be something at home, and that something was the overthrow of the representative system of government, for it could be nothing else. But the plotters got into confusion and became enemies to each other. Adams hated and was jealous of Hamilton, and Hamilton hated and despised both Adams and Washington. Surly Timothy stood aloof, as he did at the affair of Lexington, and the part that fell to the public was to pay the expence.

But ought a people who but a few years ago were fighting the battles of the world, for liberty had no home but here, ought such a people to stand quietly by and see that liberty undermined by apostacy and overthrown by intrigue? Let the tombs of the slain recal their recollection, and the forethought of what their children are to be revive and fix in their hearts the love of liberty.

If the former administration can justify its conduct give it the opportunity. The manner in which John Adams disappeared from the government renders an inquiry the more necessary. He gave some account of himself, lame and confused as it was, to certain *eastern wise men* who came to pay homage to him on his birth-day. But if he thought it necessary to do this ought he not to have rendered an account to the public. They had a right to expect it of him. In that *tete a tete* account, he says, "Some measures were the effect of imperious necessity, much against my inclination." What measures does Mr. Adams mean, and what is the imperious necessity to which he alludes. "Others (says he) were measures of the legislature, which although approved when passed were never previously proposed or recommended by me." What measures, it may be asked, were those, for the public have a right to know the

conduct of their representatives? "Some (says he) left to my discretion were never executed because no necessity for them in my judgement, ever occurred."

What does this dark apology mixed with accusation, amount to, but to increase and confirm the suspicion that something was wrong. Administration only was possessed of foreign official information, and it was only upon that information communicated by him publicly or privately, or to Congress, that Congress could act, and it is not in the power of Mr. Adams to shew, from the condition of the belligerent powers, that any imperious necessity called for the warlike and expensive measures of his administration.

What the correspondence between administration and Rufus King in London, or Quincy Adams in Holland, or Berlin, might be, is but little known. The public papers have told us that the former became cup-bearer from the London Underwriters to Captain Truxton, for which as minister from a neutral nation, he ought to have been censured. It is, however, a feature that marks the politics of the minister, and hints at the character of the correspondence.

I know it is the opinion of several members of both houses of Congress that an enquiry, with respect to the conduct of the late administration ought to be gone into. The convulsed state into which the country has been thrown will be best settled by a full and fair exposition of the conduct of that administration, and the causes and object of that conduct. To be deceived, or to remain deceived, can be the interest of no man who seeks the public good; and it is the deceiver only, or one interested in the deception, that can wish to preclude enquiry.

The suspicion against the late administration, is, that it was plotting to overturn the representative system of Government, and that it spread alarms of invasions that had no foundation, as a pretence for raising and establishing a military force as the means of accomplishing that object.

The law, called the sedition law, enacted, that "If any person should write or publish, or cause to be written or published any libel (without defining what a libel is) against the government of the United States, or either houses of Congress, or against the President, he should be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years."

But it is a much greater crime for a President to plot against a constitution and the liberties of the people than for

an individual to plot against a President: and consequently John Adams is accountable to the public for his conduct, as the individuals under his administration were to the sedition law.

The object, however, of an inquiry in this case is not to punish, but to satisfy; and to shew by example to future administrations that by an abuse of power and trust, however disguised by appearances, or rendered plausible by pretence, is one time or other to be accounted for.

THOMAS PAINE.

Bordentown, on the Delaware,
New Jersey, March 12, 1803.

MISCELLANEOUS

LETTERS & ESSAYS,

On various Subjects.

BY

THOMAS PAINE.

London :

PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY R. CARLILE, 55, FLEET STREET.

1819.

PETITION TO THE BOARD OF EXCISE.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

IN humble obedience to your Honours' letter of discharge, bearing date August 29, 1765, I delivered up my commission, and since that time have given you no trouble.

I confess the justice of your Honours' displeasure, and humbly beg leave to add my thanks for the candour and lenity which you at that unfortunate time indulged me with.

And though the nature of the report and my own confession cut off all expectations of enjoying your Honours' favour then, yet I humbly hope it has not finally excluded me therefrom; upon which hope I humbly presume to intreat your Honours' to restore me.

The time I enjoyed my former commission was short and unfortunate—an officer only a single year. No complaint of the least dishonesty, or intemperance, ever appeared against me; and if I am so happy as to succeed in this my humble petition, I will endeavour that my future conduct shall as much engage your Honours' approbation, as my former has merited your displeasure.

“ I am your Honours' most dutiful

“ humble Servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

London, July 3, 1766.

LETTER TO DR. GOLDSMITH.

HONOURED SIR,

HEREWITH I present you with the Case of the Officers of Excise. A compliment of this kind from an entire stranger may appear somewhat singular; but the following reasons and information will, I presume, sufficiently apologize. I act myself in the humble station of an officer of excise, though somewhat differently circumstanced to what many of them are, and have been the principal promoter of a plan for applying to Parliament this session for an increase of salary. A petition for this purpose has been circulated through every part of the kingdom, and signed by all the officers therein. A subscription of three shillings per officer is raised, amounting to upwards of £500, for supporting the expenses. The excise officers, in all cities and corporate towns, have obtained letters of recommendation from the electors to the members in their behalf, many or most of whom have promised their support. The enclosed case we have presented to most of the members, and shall to all, before the petition appear in the House. The memorial before you, met with so much approbation while in manuscript, that I was advised to print 4000 copies: 3000 of which were subscribed for the officers in general, and the remaining 1000 reserved for presents. Since the delivering them I have received so many letters of thanks and approbation for the performance, that were I not rather singularly modest, I should insensibly become a little vain. The literary fame of Dr. Goldsmith has induced me to present one to him, such as it is. It is my first and only attempt, and even now I should not have undertaken it, had I not been particularly applied to by some of my superiors in office. I have some few questions to trouble Dr. Goldsmith with, and should esteem his company for an hour or two, to partake of a bottle of wine, or any thing else, and apologize for this trouble, as a singular favour conferred on

His unknown

Humble servant and admirer,

THOMAS PAINE.

Excise Coffee House,
Broad Street, Dec. 21, 1772.

P. S. Shall take the liberty of waiting on you in a day or two.

CASE OF THE OFFICERS OF EXCISE; WITH REMARKS ON THE QUALIFICATIONS OF OFFICERS, AND ON THE NUMEROUS EVILS ARISING TO THE REVENUE, FROM THE INSUFFICIENCY OF THE PRESENT SALARY: HUMBL Y ADDRESS ED TO THE MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.

Introduction.

As a design among the Excise officers throughout the kingdom is on foot, for an humble application to Parliament next session, to have the state of their salaries taken into consideration; it has been judged not only expedient, but highly necessary, to present a state of their case, previous to the presentation of their petition.

There are some cases so singularly reasonable, that the more they are considered, the more weight they obtain. It is a strong evidence both of simplicity and honest confidence, when petitioners in any case ground their hopes of relief on having their case fully and perfectly known and understood.

Simple as this subject may appear at first, it is a matter, in my humble opinion, not unworthy a parliamentary attention. It is a subject interwoven with a variety of reasons from different causes. New matter will arise on every thought. *If the poverty of the officers of Excise, if the temptations arising from their poverty, if the qualifications of persons to be admitted into employment, if the security of the revenue itself,* are matters of any weight, then I am conscious that my voluntary services in this business, will produce some good effect or other, either to the better security of the revenue, the relief of the officers, or both.

WHEN a year's salary is mentioned in the gross, it acquires a degree of consequence from its sound, which it would not if separated into daily payments, and if the charges attending the receiving, and other unavoidable

expences were considered with it. Fifty pounds a-year, and one shilling and nine pence farthing a-day, carry as different degrees of significancy with them, as my Lord's steward, and the steward's labourer; and yet an outride officer in the excise, under the name of fifty pounds a year, receives for himself no more than one shilling and ninepence farthing a day.

After tax, charity, and sitting expences are deducted, there remains very little more than forty-six pounds; and the expences of horse-keeping, in many places, cannot be brought under fourteen pounds a year, besides the purchase at first, and the hazard of life, which reduces it to thirty-two pounds per annum, or one shilling and ninepence farthing per day.

I have spoken more particularly of the outrides, as they are by far the most numerous, being in proportion to the foot-walk as eight is to five throughout the kingdom. Yet in the latter, the same misfortunes exist; the channel of them only is altered. The excessive dearness of house-rent, the great burthen of rates and taxes, and the excessive price of all necessaries of life, in cities and large trading towns, nearly counterbalance the expences of horse-keeping. Every office has its stages of promotions, but the pecuniary advantages arising from a foot-walk are so inconsiderable, and the loss of disposing of effects, or the charges of removing them to any considerable distance, so great, that many out-ride officers with a family remain as they are, from an inability to bear the loss, or support the expence.

The officers resident in the cities of London and Westminster, are exempt from the particular disadvantages of removals. This seems to be the only circumstance which they enjoy superior to their country brethren. In every other respect they lie under the same hardships, and suffer the same distresses.

There are no perquisites or advantages in the least annexed to the employment. A few officers who are stationed along the coast, may sometimes have the good fortune to fall in with a seizure of contraband goods, and that frequently at the hazard of their lives: but the inland officers can have no such opportunities. Besides, the surveying duty in the excise is so continual, that without remissness from the real business itself, there is no time to seek after them. With the officers of the customs it is quite otherwise, their whole time and care being appropriated to that service, and their profits are in proportion to their vigilance.

If the increase of money in the kingdom is one cause of the high price of provisions, the case of the Excise officers is peculiarly pitiable. No increase comes to them—they are shut out from the general blessing—they behold it like a map of Peru. The answer of Abraham to Dives is somewhat applicable to them, “*There is a great gulf fixed.*”

To the wealthy and humane, it is a matter worthy of concern, that their affluence should become the misfortune of others. Were the money in the kingdom to be increased double, the salary would in value be reduced one half. Every step upwards, is a step downwards with them. Not to be partakers of the increase would be a little hard, but to be sufferers by it exceedingly so. The mechanic and the labourer may in a great measure ward off the distress, by raising the price of their manufactures or their work, but the situation of the officers admits no such relief.

Another consideration in their behalf (and which is peculiar to the Excise) is, that as the law of their office removes them far from their natural friends and relations, it consequently prevents those occasional assistances from them, which are serviceably felt in a family, and which even the poorest, among the poor, enjoys. Most poor mechanics, or even common labourers, have some relations or friends, who, either out of benevolence or pride, keep their children from nakedness, supply them occasionally with perhaps half a hog, a load of wood, a chaldron of coals, or something or other, which abates the severity of their distress; and yet those men, thus relieved, will frequently earn more than the daily pay of an Excise officer.

Perhaps an officer will appear more reputable with the same pay, than a mechanic or labourer. The difference arises from sentiment, not circumstances. A something like reputable pride makes all the distinction, and the thinking part of mankind well knows, that none suffer so much as they who endeavour to conceal their necessities.

The frequent removals which unavoidably happen in the Excise, are attended with such an expence, especially where there is a family, as few officers are able to support. About two years ago, an officer with a family, under orders for removing, and rather embarrassed in circumstances, made his application to me, and from a conviction of his distress, I advanced a small sum to enable him to proceed. He ingeniously declared, that without the assistance of some friend, he should be driven to do injustice to his creditors, and

compelled to desert the duty of his office. He has since honestly paid me, and does as well as the narrowness of such circumstances can admit of.

There is one general allowed truth, which will always operate in their favour; which is, that no set of men, under his Majesty, earn their salary with any comparison of labour and fatigue, with that of the officers of Excise. The station may rather be called a seat of constant work, than either a place or an employment. Even in the different departments of the general revenue, they are unequalled in the burthen of business; a riding-officer's place in the customs, whose salary is sixty pounds a year, is ease to theirs; and the work in the window-light duty, compared with the Excise, is lightness itself; yet their salary is subject to no tax, they receive forty-nine pounds twelve shillings and sixpence, without deduction.

The inconveniencies which affect an Excise-officer, are almost endless; even the land-tax assessment upon their salaries, which, though the Government pays, falls often with hardship upon them. The place of their residence, on account of the land-tax, has, in many instances, created frequent contentions between parishes, in which the officer, though the innocent and unconcerned cause of the quarrel, has been the greater sufferer.

To point out particularly the impossibility of an Excise-officer supporting himself and family, with any proper degree of credit and reputation, on so scanty a pittance, is altogether unnecessary. The times, the voice of general want, are proofs themselves. Where facts are sufficient, arguments are useless; and the hints which I have produced, are such as affect the officers of Excise differently to any other set of men. A single man may barely live; but as it is not the design of the legislature, or the Hon. Board of Excise, to impose a state of celibacy on them, the condition of much the greater part is truly wretched and pitiable.

Perhaps it may be said, why do the Excise officers complain? they are not pressed into the service, and may relinquish it when they please; if they can mend themselves, why don't they? Alas! what a mockery of pity would it be, to give such an answer to an honest, faithful, old officer in the Excise, who had spent the prime of his life in the service, and was become unfit for any thing else! The time limited for an admission into an Excise employment, is between twenty-one and thirty years of age, the very flower

of life. Every other hope and consideration are then given up, and the chance of establishing themselves in any other business, becomes in a few years not only lost to them, but they become lost to it.

“There is a tide in the affairs of men, which if embraced, leads on to fortune—that neglected, all beyond is misery or want.”

When we consider how few in the Excise arrive at any comfortable eminence, and the date of life when such promotions only can happen, the great hazard there is of ill, rather than good fortune in the attempt, and that all the years antecedent to that is a state of mere existence, wherein they are shut out from the common chance of success in any other way; a reply like that can be only a derision of their wants. It is almost impossible, after any long continuance in the Excise, that they can live any other way. Such as are of trades, would have their trades to learn over again; and people would have but little opinion of their abilities in any calling, who had been ten, fifteen, or twenty years absent from it. Every year's experience gained in the Excise, is a year's experience lost in trade; and by the time they become wise officers, they become foolish workmen.

Were the reasons for augmenting the salary grounded only on the charitableness of so doing, they would have great weight with the compassionate. But there are auxiliaries of such a powerful cast, that in the opinion of policy, they obtain the rank of originals. The first is truly the case of the officers, but this is rather the case of the revenue.

The distresses in the Excise are so generally known, that numbers of gentlemen, and other inhabitants in places where officers are resident, have generously and humanely recommended their case to the members of the Hon. House of Commons: and numbers of traders of opulence and reputation, well knowing that the poverty of an officer may subject him to the fraudulent designs of some selfish persons under his survey, to the great injury of the fair trader, and trade in general, have, from principles both of generosity and justice, joined in the same recommendation.

Thoughts on the Corruption of Principles, and on the numerous evils arising to the Revenue, from the too great Poverty of the Officers of Excise.

It has always been the wisdom of government, to consider the situation and circumstances of persons in trust. Why are large salaries given in many instances, but to proportion it to the trust, to set men above temptation, and to make it even literally worth their while to be honest? The salaries of the judges have been augmented, and their places made independent even of the crown itself, for the above wise purposes.

Certainly there can be nothing unreasonable in supposing there is such an instinct as frailty among the officers of Excise, in common with the rest of mankind; and that the most effectual method to keep men honest, is to enable them to live so. The tenderness of conscience is too often overmatched by the sharpness of want; and principle, like charity, yields with just reluctance enough to excuse itself. There is a powerful rhetoric in necessity, which exceeds even a Dunning or a Wedderburne. No argument can satisfy the feelings of hunger, or abate the edge of appetite. Nothing tends to a greater corruption of manners and principles, than a too great distress of circumstances; and the corruption is of that kind, that it spreads a plaster for itself: like a viper, it carries a cure, though a false one, for its own poison. Agur, without any alternative, has made dishonesty the immediate consequence of poverty, "Lest I be poor and steal." A very little degree of that dangerous kind of philosophy, which is the almost certain effect of involuntary poverty, will teach men to believe, that to starve is more criminal than to steal, by as much as every species of self-murder exceeds every other crime; that true honesty is sentimental, and the practice of it dependent upon circumstances. If the gay find it difficult to resist the allurements of pleasure, the great the temptations of ambition, or the miser the acquisition of wealth, how much stronger are the provocations of want and poverty! The excitements to pleasure, grandeur, or riches, are mere

“ shadows of a shade,” compared to the irresistible necessities of nature. “ Not to be led into temptation,” is the prayer of divinity itself; and to guard against, or rather to prevent, such insnaring situations, is one of the greatest heights of human prudence: in private life it is partly religious; and in a Revenue sense, it is truly political.

The rich, in ease and affluence, may think I have drawn an unnatural portrait; but could they descend to the cold regions of want, the circle of polar poverty, they would find their opinions changing with the climate. There are habits of thinking peculiar to different conditions, and to find them out is truly to study mankind.

That the situation of an Excise officer is of this dangerous kind, must be allowed by every one who will consider the trust unavoidably reposed in him, and compare the narrowness of his circumstances with the hardship of the times. If the salary was judged competent an hundred years ago, it cannot be so now. Should it be advanced, that if the present set of officers are dissatisfied with the salary, that enow may be procured not only for the present salary, but for less; the answer is extremely easy. The question needs only to be put; it destroys itself. Were two or three thousand men to offer to execute the office without any salary, would the government accept them? No. Were the same number to offer the same service for a salary less than can possibly support them, would the government accept them? Certainly not; for while nature, in spite of law or religion, makes it a ruling principle not to starve, the event would be this, that as they could not live on the salary, they would discretionally live out of the duty. Quere, whether poverty has not too great an influence now? Were the employment a place of direct labour, and not of trust, then frugality in the salary would be sound policy: but when it is considered that the greatest single branch of the Revenue, a duty amounting to near five millions sterling, is annually charged by a set of men, most of whom are wanting even the common necessaries of life, the thought must, to every friend to honesty, to every person concerned in the management of the public money, be strong and striking. Poor and in power, are powerful temptations; I call it power, because they have it in their power to defraud. The trust unavoidably reposed in an Excise-officer is so great, that it would be an act of wisdom, and perhaps of interest, to secure him from the temptations of downright poverty. To relieve their wants

would be charity, but to secure the Revenue by so doing, would be prudence. Scarcely a week passes at the office but some detections are made of fraudulent and collusive proceedings. The poverty of the officers is the fairest bait for a designing trader that can possibly be; such introduce themselves to the officer under the common plea of the insufficiency of the salary. Every considerate mind must allow, that poverty and opportunity corrupt many an honest man. I am not at all surprised that so many opulent and reputable traders have recommended the case of the officers to the good favour of their representatives. They are sensible of the pinching circumstances of the officers, and of the injury to trade in general, from the advantages which are taken of them. The welfare of the fair trader, and the security of the Revenue, are so inseparably one, that their interest or injuries are alike. It is the opinion of such whose situation gives them a perfect knowledge in the matter, that the Revenue suffers more by the corruption of a few officers in a county, than would make a handsome addition to the salary of the whole number in the same place.

I very lately knew an instance where it is evident, on comparison of the duty charged since, that the Revenue suffered by one trader (and he not a very considerable one) upwards of one hundred and sixty pounds per ann. for several years; and yet the benefit to the officer was a mere trifle, in consideration of the trader's. Without doubt the officer would have thought himself much happier to have received the same addition another way. The bread of deceit is a bread of bitterness; but alas! how few in times of want and hardship are capable of thinking so: objects appear under new colours, and in shapes not naturally their own; hunger sucks in the deception, and necessity reconciles it to conscience.

The commissioners of Excise strongly enjoin, that no officer accept any treat, gratuity, or, in short, lay himself under any kind of obligation to the traders under their survey: the wisdom of such an injunction is evident; but the practice of it, surrounded with children and poverty, is scarcely possible; and such obligations, wherever they exist, must operate, directly or indirectly, to the injury of the Revenue. Favours will naturally beget their likenesses, especially where the return is not at our own expense.

I have heard it remarked, by a gentleman whose know-

ledge in Excise business is indisputable, that there are numbers of officers who are even afraid to look into an unentered room, lest they should give offence. Poverty and obligation tie up the hands of office, and give a prejudicial bias to the mind.

There is another kind of evil, which, though it may never amount to what may be deemed criminality in law, yet it may amount to what is much worse in effect, and that is, a constant and perpetual leakage in the Revenue: a sort of gratitude in the dark, a distant requital for such civilities as only the lowest poverty would accept, and which are a thousand per cent. above the value of the civility received. Yet there is no immediate collusion; the trader and officer are both safe; the design, if discovered, passes for error.

These, with numberless other evils, have all their origin in the poverty of the officers. Poverty, in defiance of principle, begets a degree of meanness that will stoop to almost any thing. A thousand refinements of argument may be brought to prove, that the practice of honesty will be still the same, in the most trying and necessitous circumstances. He who never was an hungered man may argue finely on the subjection of his appetite; and he who never was distressed, may harangue as beautifully on the power of principle. But poverty, like grief, has an incurable deafness, which never hears; the oration loses all its edge; and "*To be, or not to be,*" becomes the only question.

There is a striking difference between dishonesty arising from want of food, and want of principle. The first is worthy of compassion, the other of punishment. Nature never produced a man who would starve in a well-stored larder, because the provisions were not his own: but he who robs it from luxury of appetite, deserves a gibbet.

There is another evil which the poverty of the salary produces, and which nothing but an augmentation can remove; and that is, negligence and indifference. These may not appear of such dark complexion as fraud and collusion, but their injuries to the Revenue are the same. It is impossible that any office or business can be regarded as it ought, where this ruinous disposition exists. It requires no sort of argument to prove, that the value set upon any place or employment, will be in proportion to the value of it; and that diligence or negligence will arise from the same cause. The continual number of relinquishments and dis-

charges always happening in the Excise, are evident proofs of it.

Persons first coming into the Excise, form very different notions of it, to what they have afterwards. The gay ideas of promotion soon expire ; continuance of work, the strictness of the duty, and the poverty of the salary, soon beget negligence and indifference : the course continues for a while, the Revenue suffers, and the officer is discharged : the vacancy is soon filled up, new ones arise to produce the same mischief, and share the same fate.

What adds still more to the weight of this grievance is, that this destructive disposition reigns most among such as are otherwise the most proper and qualified for the employment ; such as are neither fit for the Excise, or any thing else, are glad to hold in by any means : but the Revenue lies at as much hazard from their want of judgment, as from the other's want of diligence.

In private life, no man would trust the execution of any important concern, to a servant who was careless whether he did it or not, and the same rule must hold good in a Revenue sense. The commissioners may continue discharging every day, and the example will have no weight while the salary is an object so inconsiderable, and this disposition has such a general existence. Should it be advanced, that if men will be careless of such bread as is in their possession, they will still be the same were it better ; I answer that, as the disposition I am speaking of, is not the effect of natural idleness, but of dissatisfaction in point of profit, they would not continue the same. A good servant will be careful of a good place, though very indifferent about a bad one. Besides, this spirit of indifference, should it procure a discharge, is no way affecting to their circumstances. The easy transition of a qualified officer to a counting-house, or at least a school-master, at any time, as it naturally supports and backs his indifference about the Excise, so it takes off all punishment from the order whenever it happens.

I have known numbers discharged from the Excise, who would have been a credit to their patrons and the employment, could they have found it worth their while to have attended to it. No man enters into the Excise with any higher expectations than a competent maintenance ; but not to find even that, can produce nothing but *corruption, collusion, and neglect.*

Remarks on the Qualification of Officers.

IN employments where direct labour only is wanting, and trust quite out of the question, the service is merely animal or mechanical. In cutting a river, or forming a road, as there is no possibility of fraud, the merit of honesty is but of little weight. Health, strength, and hardiness, are the labourer's virtues. But where property depends on the trust, and lies at the discretion of the servant, the judgment of the master takes a different channel, both in the choice and the wages. The honest and the dissolute have here no comparison of merit. A known thief may be trusted to gather stones; but a steward ought to be proof against the temptations of uncounted gold.

The Excise is so far from being of the nature of the first, that it is all, and more than can commonly be put together in the last: it is a place of poverty, of trust, of opportunity, and temptation. A compound of discords, where the more they harmonize, the more they offend.

To be properly qualified for the employment, it is not only necessary that the person should be honest, but that he be sober, diligent, and skilful; sober, that he may be always capable of business; diligent, that he may be always in his business; and skilful, that he may be able to prevent or detect frauds against the Revenue. The want of any of these qualifications is a capital offence in the Excise. A complaint of drunkenness, negligence, or ignorance, is certain death by the laws of the board. It cannot then be all sorts of persons who are proper for the office. The very notion of procuring a sufficient number for even less than the present salary, is so destitute of every degree of sound reason, that it needs no reply. The employment, from the insufficiency of the salary, is already become so inconsiderable in the general opinion, that persons of any capacity or reputation will keep out of it; for where is the mechanic, or even the labourer, who cannot earn at least 1s. 9d. per day? It certainly cannot be proper to take the dregs of every calling, and to make the Excise the common receptacle for the indigent, the ignorant, and the calamitous.

A truly worthy commissioner, lately dead, made a public offer, a few years ago, of putting any of his neighbours' sons into the Excise; but though the offer amounted almost to an invitation, one only, whom seven years apprenticeship could not make a tailor, accepted it; who, after a twelve-month's instruction, was ordered off, but in a few days finding the employment beyond his abilities, he prudently deserted it, and returned home, where he now remains in the character of an husbandman.

There are very few instances of rejection even of persons who can scarce write their own names legibly; for as there is neither law to compel, nor encouragement to excite, no other can be had than such as offer, and none will offer who can see any other prospect of living. Every one knows that the Excise is a place of labour, not of ease; of hazard, not of certainty; and that downright poverty finishes the character.

It must strike every considerate mind, to hear a man with a large family, faithful enough to declare, that he cannot support himself on the salary with that honest independency he could wish. There is a great degree of affecting honesty in an ingenuous confession. Eloquence may strike the ear, but the language of poverty strikes the heart; the first may charm like music, but the second alarms like a knell.

Of late years there has been such an admission of improper and unqualified persons in the Excise, that the office is not only become contemptible, but the Revenue insecure. Collectors, whose long services and qualifications have advanced them to that station, are disgraced by the wretchedness of new supers continually. Certainly some regard ought to be had to decency, as well as merit.

These are some of the capital evils which arise from the wretched poverty of the salary. Evils they certainly are; for what can be more destructive in a Revenue office, than corruption, collusion, neglect, and ill qualifications.

Should it be questioned whether an augmentation of salary would remove them, I answer, there is scarce a doubt to be made of it. Human wisdom may possibly be deceived in its wisest designs; but here, every thought and circumstance establishes the hope. They are evils of such a ruinous tendency, that they must, by some means or other, be removed. Rigour and severity have been tried in vain; for punishment loses all its force where men expect and disregard it.


Of late years, the board of Excise has shewn an extraor-

dinary tenderness in such instances as might otherwise have affected the circumstances of their officers. Their compassion has greatly tended to lessen the distresses of the employment; but as it cannot amount to a total removal of them, the officers of Excise throughout the kingdom have (as the voice of one man) prepared petitions to be laid before the Honourable House of Commons on the ensuing Parliament.

An augmentation of salary, sufficient to enable them to live honestly and competently, would produce more good effect than all the laws of the land can enforce. The generality of such frauds as the officers have been detected in, have appeared of a nature as remote from inherent dishonesty, as a temporary illness is from an incurable disease. Surrounded with want, children, and despair, what can the husband or the father do? No laws compel like nature—no connections bind like blood.

With an addition of salary, the Excise would wear a new aspect, and recover its former constitution. Languor and neglect would give place to care and cheerfulness. Men of reputation and abilities would seek after it, and finding a comfortable maintenance would stick to it. The unworthy and incapable would be rejected, the power of superiors be re-established, and laws and instructions receive new force. The officers would be secured from the temptations of poverty, and the Revenue from the evils of it; the cure would be as extensive as the complaint, and new health out-root the present corruptions.

THOMAS PAINE.

INTRODUCTION TO THE FIRST NUMBER OF THE
PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE.

To the Public.

THE design of this work has been so fully expressed in the printed proposals, that it is unnecessary to trouble the reader *now* with a formal preface; and instead of that vain parade with which publications of this kind are introduced to the public, we shall content ourselves with soliciting their candour, till our more qualified labours shall entitle us to their praise.

The generous and considerate will recollect, that imperfection is natural to infancy; and that nothing claims their patronage with a better grace than those undertakings which, beside their infant state, have many formidable disadvantages to oppress them.

We presume it is unnecessary to inform our friends that we encounter all the inconveniencies which a magazine can possibly start with. Unassisted by imported materials, we are destined to create, what our predecessors, in this walk, had only to compile.—And the present perplexities of affairs have rendered it somewhat difficult for us to procure the necessary aids.

Thus encompassed with difficulties, the first number of THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE entreats a favourable reception; of which we shall only say, like the *snow-drop*, it comes forth in a barren season, and contents itself with foretelling, that CHOICER FLOWERS are preparing to appear.

Philadelphia, January 24, 1775.

THE UTILITY OF MAGAZINES EVINCED.

IN a country whose reigning character is the love of science, it is somewhat strange that the channels of communication should be so narrow and limited. The weekly papers are at present the only vehicle of public information. Convenience and necessity prove that the opportunities of acquiring and communicating knowledge ought always to enlarge with the circle of population. America has now outgrown the state of infancy ; her strength and commerce make large advances to manhood ; and science, in all its branches, has not only blossomed, but even ripened on the soil. The cottages, as it were, of yesterday, have grown to villages, and the villages to cities ; and while proud antiquity, like a skeleton in rags, parades the streets of other nations, their genius, as if sickened and disgusted with the phantom, comes hither for recovery.

The present enlarged and improved state of things gives every encouragement which the editor of a new Magazine can reasonably hope for. The failure of former ones cannot be drawn as a parallel now. Change of times adds propriety to new measures. In the early days of colonization, when a whisper was almost sufficient to have negotiated all our internal concerns, the publishing even of a newspaper would have been premature. Those times are past, and population has established both their use and their credit. But their plan being almost wholly devoted to news and commerce, affords but a scanty residence to the Muses. Their path lies wide of the field of science, and has left a rich and unexplored region for new adventures.

It has always been the opinion of the learned and the curious, that a Magazine, when properly conducted, is a nursery of genius ; and by constantly accumulating new matter, becomes a kind of market for wit and utility. . The opportunity which it affords to men of abilities to communicate their studies, kindles up a spirit of invention and emulation. An unexercised genius soon contracts a kind of mossiness, which not only checks its growth, but abates its natural vigour. Like an untenanted house, it falls into decay, and frequently ruins the possessor.

The British Magazines, at the commencement, were the repositories of ingenuity ; they are now the retailers of tale

and nonsense. From elegance they sunk into simplicity, from simplicity to folly, and from folly to voluptuousness. The Gentleman's, the London, and the Universal Magazines, bear yet some marks of their originality: but the Town and Country, the Covent Garden, and Westminster, are no better than incentives to profligacy and dissipation. They have added to the dissolution of manners, and supported Venus against the Muses.

America yet inherits a large portion of her first imported virtue. Degeneracy is here almost a useless word. They who are conversant with Europe would be tempted to believe, that even the air of the Atlantic disagrees with foreign vices; if they survive the voyage they either expire on their arrival, or linger away in an incurable consumption. There is a happy something in the climate of America which disarms them of all their power both of infection and attraction.

But while we give no encouragement to the importation of foreign vices, we ought to be equally as careful not to create any. A vice begotten might be worse than a vice imported. The latter depending on favour, would be a sycophant; the other by pride of birth would be a tyrant. To the one we should be dupes; to the other slaves.

There is nothing which obtains so general an influence over the manners and morals of a people, as the press; from *that*, as from a fountain, the streams of vice or virtue are poured forth over a country: and of all publications none are more calculated to improve or infect than a periodical one. All others have their rise, and their exit; but *this* renews the pursuit. If it has no evil tendency, it debauches by the power of repetition; if a good one, it obtains favour by the gracefulness of soliciting it. Like a lover it woos its mistress with unabated ardour, nor gives up the pursuit without a conquest.

The two capital supports of a Magazine are utility and entertainment. The first is a boundless path, the other an endless spring. To suppose that arts and sciences are an exhausted subject, is doing them a kind of dishonour. The divine mechanism of the creation reproves such folly and shews us by comparison, the imperfection of our most refined inventions. I cannot believe that this species of vanity, is peculiar to the present age only. I have no doubt but it existed before the flood and even in the wildest ages of antiquity. It is a folly we have inherited, not created; and the discoveries which every day produces, have greatly

contributed to dispossess us of it. Improvement and the world will expire together; and till that period arrives we may plunder the mine but can never exhaust it. That "*we have found out every thing*" has been the motto of every age.

Let our ideas travel a little into antiquity, and we shall find larger portions of it than now; and so unwilling were our ancestors to descend from the mountain of perfection, that when any new discovery exceeded the common standard, the discoverer was believed to be in alliance with the devil. It was not the ignorance of the age only, but the vanity of it, which rendered it dangerous to be ingenious.

The man who first planned and erected a tenable hut, with a hole for the smoke to pass, and the light to enter, was, perhaps, called an able architect; but he who first improved it with a chimney, could be no less than a prodigy; yet, had the same man been so unfortunate as to have embellished it with glass windows, he might, probably, have been burnt for a magician. Our fancies would be highly diverted could we look back, and behold a circle of original Indians haranguing on the sublime perfection of the age: yet, it is not impossible but future time may exceed us almost as much as we have exceeded them.

I would wish to extirpate the least remains of this impolitic vanity. It has a direct tendency to unbrace the nerves of invention, and is peculiarly hurtful to young colonies. A Magazine can never want matter in America, if the inhabitants will do justice to their own abilities. Agriculture and manufactures owe much of their improvement in England, to hints first thrown out in some of their Magazines. Gentlemen whose abilities enabled them to make experiments, frequently choose that method of communication, on account of its convenience. And why should not the same spirit operate in America? I have no doubt of seeing, in a little time, an American Magazine full of more useful matter than ever I saw an English one: because we are not exceeded in abilities, have a more extensive field for inquiry, and, whatever may be our political state, *our happiness will always depend upon ourselves.*

Something useful will always arise from exercising the invention, though, perhaps, like the witch of Endor, we shall raise up a being we did not expect. We owe many of our noblest discoveries more to accident than wisdom. In quest of a pebble, we have found a diamond, and returned enriched with the treasure. Such happy accidents

give additional encouragement to the making experiments; and the convenience which a Magazine affords of collecting and conveying them to the public, enhances their utility. Where this opportunity is wanting, in any little inventions, the forerunners of improvement are suffered to expire on the spot that produced them; and as an elegant writer beautifully expresses on another occasion,

“ They waste their sweetness on the desert air.”

GRAY.

In matters of humour and entertainment there can be no reason to apprehend a deficiency. Wit is naturally a volunteer, delights in action, and under proper discipline is capable of great execution. It is a perfect master in the art of bush-fighting; and though it attacks with more subtlety than science, has often defeated a whole regiment of heavy artillery. Though I have rather exceeded the line of gravity in this description of wit, I am unwilling to dismiss it without being a little more serious. It is a qualification, which, like the passions, has a natural wildness that requires governing. Left to itself, it soon overflows its banks, mixes with common filth, and brings disrepute on the fountain. We have many valuable springs of it in America, which at present run in purer streams, than the generality of it in other countries. In France and Italy, it is froth highly fomented. In England it has much of the same spirit, but rather a browner complexion. European wit is one of the worst articles we can import. It has an intoxicating power with it, which debauches the very vitals of chastity, and gives a false colouring to every thing it censures or defends. We soon grow fatigued with the excess, and withdraw like gluttons sickened with intemperance. On the contrary, how happily are the follies of innocent humour calculated to amuse and sweeten the vacancy of business! We enjoy the harmless luxury without surfeiting, and strengthen the spirits by relaxing them.

The press has not only a great influence over our manners and morals, but contributes largely to our pleasures; and a Magazine, when properly enriched, is very conveniently calculated for this purpose. Voluminous works weary the patience, but here we are invited by conciseness and variety. As I have formerly received much pleasure from perusing these kind of publications, I wish the present success, and have no doubt of seeing a proper diversity blended so

agreeably together, as to furnish out an olio worthy of the company for whom it is designed.

I consider a Magazine as a kind of bee-hive, which both allures the swarm, and provides room to store their sweets. Its divisions into cells gives every bee a province of its own; though they differ in their taste for flowers, and extract with greater dexterity from one than from another. *Thus* we are not all PHILOSOPHERS, all ARTISTS, nor all POETS.

A MATHEMATICAL QUESTION PROPOSED.

MR. AITKEN,

WHEREVER the arts and sciences have been cultivated, a particular regard has been deservedly paid to the study of Mathematics. A practice has indeed long prevailed among mathematicians of real disservice to the science. When they have propounded questions in periodical publications of this kind, they have generally made choice of such as had nothing to recommend them, but their difficulty of solution, and in which they seem rather to have aimed at victory over their cotemporary rivals, than the advancement of knowledge. It were to be wished, indeed, that all questions might be suppressed, but such as may be applicable to some useful purpose in life. The following question, I hope, is of that class. If you should be of the same opinion, your sticking it in a niche in your new Magazine, will oblige

Your humble Servant,

P.

In surveying a piece of land I found the dimensions as follows:

1	side	N. 25° 30' E.	100	pers.
2	...	S. 84° 30' E.	60	
3	...	S. 36° 0' E.	96	
4	...	S. 26° 15' W.	85	
5	...	N. 59° 30' W.	140	to the place of beginning.

But upon calculating the contents from a table of difference of latitude and departure, I found I had made some error in the field; for my Northings and Southings, Eastings and Westings, were not exactly equal. Now supposing this error to have been equally contracted in every part of the survey both from the inaccuracy of taking the bearings and lengths of the boundary lines (which is the most probable supposition), it is required to correct this error, and tell the contents of this piece of land without making a re-survey.

FOR THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE

SEE THE PLATE.

Description of a New Electrical Machine with Remarks.

THERE is no place where the *study* of electricity has received more improvement than in Philadelphia: but in the *construction* of the machines the European philosophers have rather excelled. The opportunity of getting glasses blown or made in what form they please, and the easiness of finding artists to execute any new or improved invention, are perhaps the reasons of the difference.

I look on a globe to be the worst form for a glass that can be used, because when in motion you cannot touch any great part of its surface, without having the cushion concave, which, if it is, will be very apt to press unequally; a circumstance which ought to be guarded against.

The cylinder is an improvement on the globe, because nearly all the surface may be touched, and that equally, by a plain cushion; yet both these forms exclude us from the the inside, and only one or two cushions can be applied to outside.

Those machines whose glasses are planes, and revolve vertically, excite stronger than any other I have yet seen; as there are not, I believe, any in this part of the world, and as the construction is a late one I have added a description thereof, that if the glass can be procured, any gentleman inclined to have them, may easily get the other parts executed.

Let A B represent a board of convenient length and breadth, into which I insert the upright pillar, B C, which must be cut down the middle, or two single ones must be joined, so as to receive the glass plate, D E F G, and also a thin cushion on each side, between the glass plate and the insides of the pillar. In the centre of the pillar, and on each side thereof, insert the arms, D E H I F G, so that the plate may go down between the whole. The cushions are

thin pieces of board or brass, covered loosely with red leather, and stuffed, and slipped in on each side between the plate and the arms, so that the plate may turn between the eight cushions on each side of it.* The arms are generally thinned away as far as the cushions go, to receive them the more conveniently; and in the back of each cushion is a brass pin at each end, and which lodge in a notch in the pillar, and prevent their being displaced by the motion of the glass; for the cushions should be made to take out, to be cleaned, &c.

K L is a phial, and in order to have it steady, a circle is cut in the board, A B, to receive it. In the top of the phial is a wood stopper, M N, round the edge of which is glued a piece of woollen cloth to make it fix tight. Into the wood stopper, insert the brass stem, O P, to the end of which is fixed a chain, P Q. The conductor, R S, is a brass tube, which screws on the stem, O P, to which is fixed eight branches, though four are only represented in the plate, to avoid confusion, the branches terminate in points, directed in the spaces in the glass plate between the cushions, and collecting the fire from thence, convey it by means of the conductor and chain to the receiver, K L. The glass plate is turned by a winch made fast to an axis, which goes through the plate and pillars (I presume that a square hole struck through the centre of the plate while it is hot, at the time of making it) and the better to fasten the plate on the axis, a piece of wood, the size of a small saucer, is cemented to each side of the plate at the centre, and the axis passes through the whole.

If the coating comes to the bottom of the receiver, there needs no chain round it, to carry off the fire that will unavoidably steal down the outside, that being supplied by the phial being in contact with the board, the board with the table it stands on, &c.; but this communication must by some means be cut off, in order to charge the phial on the outside, which the machine that I saw was not supplied with. Any non-conducting body interposed between the phial and board will supply that defect.

This is an exact description, as far as my memory can recollect of that which I saw. I think the plate was about eighteen inches diameter, and about two-tenths of an inch in

* The cushions are represented as fixed between the plate and the arms, by the figures 1, 2, 3, 4.

thickness, and had a greenish cast.* A less plate requires fewer arms.

I am inclined to think, but I offer it only as a conjecture, that if additional branches were fixed to those represented in the figure, and brought over the edge of the glass, and pointed to the other side, in the same manner as the first set does, a greater, if not a double quantity of fire would be collected. My reasons are,

1. That the friction being on both sides equal, the quantity of matter excited on each side, may be supposed to be equal likewise.

2. That as glass is not pervadeable by electrical matter, the union of the two quantities cannot be effected that way.

3. That as glass will not conduct on its surface, the edge of the plate will act as a barrier between the two quantities.

Perhaps endeavouring to charge two phials from the different sides of the plate at one time, will best demonstrate this point.

ATLANTICUS.

Philadelphia, Jan. 10.

* I think if a cylinder was cut open while hot, and flexible in making, and spread on a plane surface, it would be sufficient for the purpose. Glass excites the stronger by not being too smooth.

USEFUL AND ENTERTAINING HINTS.

The real value of a thing,
Is as much money as 'twill bring.

IN the possession of the Philadelphia Library Company is a cabinet of fossils,* with several specimens of earth, clay, sand, &c. with some account of each, and where brought from.

I have always considered these kind of researches as productive of many advantages, and in a new country they are particularly so. As subjects for speculation, they afford entertainment to the curious; but as objects of utility, they merit a closer attention. The same materials which delight the fossilist, enrich the manufacturer and the merchant. While the one is scientifically examining their structure and composition, the others, by industry and commerce, are transmuting them to gold. Possessed of the power of pleasing, they gratify on both sides; the one contemplates their natural beauties in the cabinet, the other, their *re-created* ones in the coffer.

It is by the researches of the virtuoso that the hidden parts of the earth are brought to light, and from his discoveries of its qualities, the potter, the glass-maker, and numerous other artists, are enabled to furnish us with their productions. Artists, considered merely as such, would have made but a slender progress, had they not been led on by the enterprising spirit of the curious. I am unwilling to dismiss this remark without entering my protest against that unkind, ungrateful, and impolitic custom of ridiculing unsuccessful experiments; and informing those unwise or

* In the catalogue it is called a collection of American fossils, &c. but a considerable part of them are foreign ones. I presume that the collector, in order to judge the better of such as he might discover here, made first a collection of such foreign ones whose value were known, in order to compare by; as his design seems rather bent towards discovering the treasures of America, than merely to make a collection.

otherwise pasquinades, that half the felicities they enjoy sprung originally from generous curiosity. Were a man to propose, or set out to bore his lands, as a carpenter does a board, he might, probably, bring on himself a shower of witticisms; and though he could not be jested at for building castles in the air, yet many magnanimous laughs might break forth at his expence, and vociferously predict the explosion of a mine in his subterraneous pursuits.

I am led to this reflection by the present domestic state of America, because it will unavoidably happen, that before we can arrive at that perfection of things which other nations have acquired, many hopes will fail, many whimsical attempts will become fortunate, and many reasonable ones end in air and expence. The degree of improvement which America is already arrived at, is unparalleled and astonishing, but it is miniature to what she will one day boast of, if heaven continue her happiness. We have nearly one whole region yet unexplored; I mean the internal region of the earth. By industry and tillage we have acquired a considerable knowledge of what America will produce, but very little of what it contains. The bowels of the earth have been only slightly inquired into: we seem to content ourselves with such parts of it as are absolutely necessary, and cannot well be imported, as brick, stone, &c. but have gone very little further, except in the article of iron. The glass and the pottery manufactures are yet very imperfect, and will continue so, till some curious researcher finds out the proper material.

Copper, lead,* and tin articles valuable both in their

* I am quite at a loss to know what is meant by white lead ore mentioned in the catalogue; there being no such thing. White lead does not exist in a mineral state, but is prepared from common lead by the following process:—A large wood trough, thirty or forty feet square, is divided by wood partitions into squares of about one foot each. These squares are filled with vinegar, which is kept moderately hot, by means of large beds of new horse dung under the troughs: common sheet lead is cut into square pieces and put into the vinegar, which acts upon it as a menstruum, and changes it into white lead. When the pieces of lead appear white and flakey, they are taken out and thrown under a stone roller, which goes over them (as a tanner grinds bark) and beats off such parts of the lead as are already changed into white lead, the remainder is again thrown into the vinegar. Fire will restore white lead to common lead again.

simple state, and as being the component parts of other metals, (viz. brass and pewter) are at present but little known throughout the Continent in their mineral form: yet I doubt not but very valuable mines of them are daily travelled over in the western parts of America. Perhaps a few feet of surface conceal a treasure sufficient to enrich a kingdom.

The value of the interior part of the earth, like ourselves, cannot be judged certainly of by the surface; neither do the corresponding strata lie with the unvariable order of the colours of the rainbow;* and if they ever did, which I do not believe, age and misfortune have now broken in upon their union; earthquakes, deluges, and volcanoes have so disunited and reunited them, that in their present state they appear like a world in ruins—yet the ruins are beautiful; the caverns, museums of antiquity.

Though Nature is gay, polite, and generous abroad, she is sullen, rude, and niggardly at home. Return the visit, and she admits you with all the suspicion of a miser, and all the reluctance of an antiquated beauty retired to replenish her charms. Bred up in antediluvian notions, she has not yet acquired the European taste of receiving visitants in her dressing-room: she locks and bolts up her private recesses with extraordinary care, as if not only resolved to preserve her hoards, but to conceal her age, and hide the remains of a face that was young and lovely in the days of Adam. He that would view nature in her undress, and partake of her internal treasures, must proceed with the resolution of a robber, if not a ravisher. She gives no invitation to follow her to the cavern. The external earth makes no proclamation of the interior stores, but leaves to chance and industry the discovery of the whole. In such gifts as nature can annually recreate, she is noble and profuse, and entertains the whole world with the interest of her fortunes; but watches over the capital with the care of a miser. Her gold and jewels lie concealed in the earth, in caves of utter darkness; and hoards of wealth, heaps upon heaps, mould in the chests, like the riches of a necromancer's cell. It must be very pleasant to an adventurous speculist to make excursions into these Gothic regions; and in his travels he may possibly come to a cabinet locked up in some rocky vault,

* 1. Red. 2. Orange. 3. Yellow. 4. Green. 5. Blue. 6. Indigo. 7. Violet.

whose treasures shall reward his toil, and enable him to shine on his return as splendidly as Nature herself. By a small degree of attention to the order and origin of such things, we shall perceive, that though the surface of the earth produce us the necessaries of life, yet it is from the mine we extract the conveniences thereof. Our houses would diminish to wigwams furnished in the Indian style, and ourselves resemble the building, were it not for the ores of the earth. Agriculture and manufactures would wither away for want of tools and implements, and commerce stand still for want of materials. The beasts of the field would elude our power, and the birds of the air get beyond our reach. Our dominion would shrink to a narrow circle; and our mind itself, partaking of the change, would contract its prospects, and lessen into almost animal instinct. Take away but the single article of iron, and half the felicities of life falls with it. Little as we may prize this common ore, the loss of it would cut deeper than the use of it: and by the way of laughing off misfortunes it is easy to prove, by this method of investigation, that *an iron age is better than a golden one.*

Since so great a portion of our enjoyments is drawn from the mine, it is certainly an evidence of our prudence to inquire and know what our professions are. Every man's landed property extends to the surface of the earth. Why then should he sit down contented with a part, and practise upon his estate those fashionable follies in life which prefer the superfluous to the solid? Curiosity alone, should the thought occur conveniently, would move an active mind to examine, though not to the bottom, at least to a considerable depth.

The propriety and reasonableness of these internal inquiries are continually pointed out to us by numberless occurrences. Accident is almost every day turning out some new secret from the earth. How often has the ploughshare or the spade broken open a treasure, which for ages, perhaps for ever, had lain but just beneath the surface: and though every state have not mines of gold or silver, yet they may contain some strata of valuable earth, proper for manufactures; and if they have not these, there is a great probability of their having chalk, marl, or some rich soil proper for manure, which only requires to be removed to the surface.

I have been informed of some land in England being raised to four times its former value by the discovery of a

chalk or marl pit, in digging a hole to fix a post in; and in embanking a meadow in the Jerseys, the labourers threw out with the soil a fine blue powderly earth, resembling indigo, which, when mixed with oil, was used for paint. I imagine the vein is now exhausted.

Those who are inclined to make researches of this kind, will find their endeavours greatly facilitated by the use of the following instrument.

Description of a set of Borers, used in boring land, in order to find its internal composition.

A set of borers consists of any number of pieces, according to the depth intended to be bored to. Those which I saw, and have here described, had twenty pieces of about two feet long each, and about an inch and a half diameter. The first piece has a bite like a wood borer, and grooved like a gimblet, on which is to be fixed an iron cross bar, to turn it by. When the first piece has descended to its depth, the cross bar is taken off, and the second piece, grooved like the first, is joined to it, much in the same manner as a soldier's bayonet is fixed to his musket, but so that the groove of the second lie in a line with the first. The cross bar is then put on the top of the second piece; and when that has descended, the third is fixed on in the same manner as the second, with the groove in the same line, and so far for all the rest. It is evident that if the whole twenty pieces were to descend, and not be drawn up till the last, that the different soils through which the borer had passed, would lie in the grooves in the same order, and at the same distance from the surface, and from each other, that they laid in the earth; and that by repeating the operation in different parts of the land, the direction, extent, length, and thickness of any, or all the strata would be known. But as it will require an extraordinary force both to bore it down and draw up the whole number of pieces, it will be necessary to loosen them by frequently drawing them up, and likewise to have an additional fore-piece something bigger than the rest, to enlarge the hole by. A few trials will explain the whole. The two chief things to observe are, not to lay the borers fast, as they cannot be released like a wedge, nor to wrench them the contrary way, lest you separate them by so doing, for the lower parts will be irrecoverably lost.

Experiments of this kind are not attended with any considerable expence, and they give us much knowledge of the

internal structure of the earth, as will be obtained by fifty times the same expence in digging to any considerable depth; and much more expeditiously. Many valuable ores, clays, &c. appear in such rude forms in their natural state, as not even to excite curiosity, much less attention. A true knowledge of their different value can only be obtained by experiment: as soil proper for manure they may be judged of by the planter; but as matter, they come under the enquiry of the philosopher. This leads me to reflect with inexpressible pleasure, on the numberless benefits arising to a community, by the institution of societies for promoting useful knowledge.

The American Philosophical Society, like the Royal Society in England, by having public spirit for its support, and public good for its object, is become a treasure we ought to glory in. Here the defective knowledge of the individual is supplied by the common stock. Societies, without endangering private fortunes, are enabled to proceed in their enquiries by analysis and experiment; but individuals are seldom furnished with conveniences for so doing, generally rest their opinion on reasonable conjecture.

I presume, that were samples of different soils from different parts of America presented to the society for their inspection and examination, it would greatly facilitate our knowledge of the internal earth, and give a new spring both to agriculture and manufactures. These hints are not intended to lament any loss of time, or remissness in the pursuit of useful knowledge, but to furnish matter for future studies; that while we glory in what we are, we may not neglect what we are to be.

Of the present state we may justly say, that no nation under heaven ever struck out in so short a time, and with so much spirit and reputation, into the labyrinth of art and science; and that not in the acquisition of knowledge only, but in the happy advantages flowing from it. The world does not at this day exhibit a parallel, neither can history produce its equal.

ATLANTICUS.

Philadelphia, February 10.

NEW ANECDOTES OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

IN one of those calm and gloomy days, which have a strange effect in disposing the mind to pensiveness, I quitted the busy town and withdrew into the country. As I passed towards the Schuylkill, my ideas enlarged with the prospect, and sprung from place to place with an agility for which nature hath not a simile. Even the eye is a loiterer, when compared with the rapidity of the thoughts. Before I could reach the ferry I had made the tour of the creation, and paid a regular visit to almost every country under the sun; and while I was crossing the river, I passed the Styx and made large excursions into the shadowy regions; but my ideas relanded with my person, and taking a new flight inspected the state of things unborn; this happy wildness of imagination makes a man a lord of the world, and discovers to him the value and the vanity of all its passions. Having discharged the two terrestrial Charons, who ferried me over the Schuylkill, I took up my staff and walked into the woods. Every thing conspired to hush me into a pleasing kind of melancholy, the trees seemed to sleep—and the air hung round me with such unbreathing silence, as if listening to my very thoughts. Perfectly at rest from care or business, I suffered my ideas to pursue their own unfettered fancies; and in less time than what is required to express it in, they had again passed the Styx and toured round many miles into the new country.

As the servants of great men always imitate their masters abroad, so my ideas, habiting themselves in my likeness, figured away with all the consequence of the person they belong to; and calling themselves, when united *I* and *me* wherever they went, brought me, on their return, the following anecdotes of Alexander; viz.

Having a mind to see in what manner Alexander lived in the Plutonian world, I crossed the Styx (without the help of Charon, for the dead only are his fare,) and enquired of a melancholy looking shade who was sitting on the banks of the river, if he could give me any account of him; yonder he comes, replied the shade, get out of the way or you'll be run over. Turning myself round I saw a grand equipage rolling towards me which filled the whole avenue. Bless me! thought I, the gods still continue this man in his insolence and pomp! The chariot was drawn by eight horses in golden harness, and the whole represented his triumphal return, after he had conquered the world. It passed me

with a splendour I had not seen before, and shined so luminously up into the country, that I discovered innumerable shades sitting under the trees, which before were invisible. As there were two persons in the chariot equally splendid, I could not distinguish which was Alexander, and on requiring that information of the shade who still stood by, he replied, *Alexander is not there*. Did you not, continued I, tell me that Alexander was coming, and bid me get out of the way? Yes, answered the shade, *because he was the fore horse on the side next to us*. Horse! I mean Alexander the Emperor, *I mean the same*, replied the shade, *for whatever he was on the other side of the water is nothing now, he is a horse here; and not always that for when he is apprehensive that a good licking is intended for him, he watches his opportunity to roll out of the stable in the shape of a piece of dung or in any other disguise he can escape*. On this information I turned instantly away, not being able to bear the thoughts of such astonishing degradation, notwithstanding the aversion I have to his character. But curiosity got the better of my compassion, and having a mind to see what sort of a figure the conqueror of the world cut in the stable, I directed my flight thither. He was just returned with the rest of the horses from the journey, and the groom was rubbing him down with a large furze bush, but turning himself round to get a still larger and more prickly one that was newly brought in, Alexander caught the opportunity, and instantly disappeared, on which I quitted the place, lest I should be suspected of stealing him. When I had reached the banks of the river, and was preparing to take my flight over, I perceived that I had picked up a *bug* among the Plutonian gentry, and thinking it was needless to increase the breed on this side the water, was going to dispatch it, when the *little* wretch screamed out, *Spare Alexander the GREAT*. On which I withdrew the violence I was offering to his person, and holding up the emperor between my finger and thumb, he exhibited a most contemptible figure of the downfall of tyrant greatness. Affected with a mixture of concern and compassion (*which he was always a stranger to*) I suffered him to nibble on a pimple that was newly risen on my hand, in order to refresh him; after which I placed him on a tree to hide him, but a tom-tit coming by, chopped him up with as little ceremony as he put whole kingdoms to the sword. On which I took my flight, reflecting with pleasure that I was not *Alexander the GREAT*.

ÆSOP.

REFLECTIONS ON THE LIFE AND DEATH OF LORD
CLIVE.

AN! The tale is told—the scene is ended—and the curtain falls. As an emblem of the vanity of all earthly pomp, let his monument be a globe, but be that globe a bubble; let his effigy be a man walking round it in his sleep; and let Fame in the character of a shadow, inscribe his honours on the air.

I view him but as yesterday on the burning plains of Plassey*, doubtful of life, health, or victory. I see him in the instant when “*To be or not to be,*” were equal chances to a human eye. To be a lord or a slave, to return loaded with the spoils, or remain mingled with the dust of India. Did necessity always justify the severity of a conqueror, the rude tongue of censure would be silent, and however painfully he might look back on scenes of horror, the pensive reflection would not alarm him. Though his feelings suffered, his conscience would be acquitted. The sad remembrance would move serenely, and leave the mind without a wound. But oh, India! thou loud proclaimer of European cruelties! thou bloody monument of unnecessary deaths! be tender in the day of inquiry, and shew a Christian world thou canst suffer and forgive.

Departed from India, and loaded with plunder, I see him doubling the Cape and looking wistfully to Europe. I see him contemplating on years of pleasure, and gratifying his ambition with expected honours. I see his arrival pompously announced in every newspaper, his eager eye rambling through the crowd in quest of homage, and his ear listening lest an applause should escape him. Happily for him he arrived before his *fame*, and the short interval was a time of rest. From the crowd I follow him to the court, I see him enveloped in the sunshine of sovereign favour, rivalling

* Battle of Plassey in the East Indies, where Lord Clive, at that time Colonel Clive, acquired an immense fortune, and from which place his title is taken.

the great in honours, the proud in splendour, and the rich in wealth. From the court I trace him to the country, his equipage moves like a camp; every village bell proclaims his coming; the wondering peasants admire his pomp, and his heart runs over with joy.

But, alas! (not satisfied with uncountable thousands) I accompany him again to India. I mark the variety of countenances which appear at his landing—Confusion spreads the news—Every passion seems alarmed—The wailing widow, the crying orphan, and the childless parent remember and lament; the rival Nabobs court his favour; the rich dread his power—and the poor his severity. Fear and terror march like pioneers before his camp—murder and rapine accompany it—famine and wretchedness follow it in the rear.

Resolved on accumulating an unbounded fortune, he enters into all the schemes of war, treaty and intrigue. The British sword is set up for sale; the heads of contending Nabobs are offered at a price, and the bribe taken from both sides. Thousands of men or money are trifles in an Indian bargain. The field is an empire, and the treasure almost without end. The wretched inhabitants are glad to compound for offences never committed, and to purchase at any rate the privilege to breathe; while he, the sole lord of their lives and fortunes, disposes of either as he pleases, and prepares for Europe.*

Uncommon fortunes require an uncommon date of life to

* In April 1773, a Committee of the House of Commons, under the name of the Select Committee, were appointed by the House to enquire into the state of the East India affairs, and the conduct of the several Governors of Bengal. The Committee having gone through the examination, General Burgoyne, the chairman, prefaced their report to the House, informing them, "That the reports contained accounts of crimes shocking to human nature, that the most infamous designs had been carried into execution by perfidy and murder. He recapitulated the wretched situation of the East-Indian princes, who held their dignities on the precarious condition of being the highest bribers. No claim, however just on their part, he said, could be admitted without being introduced by enormous sums of rupees, nor any prince suffered to reign long, who did not quadruple with this idea; and that Lord Clive, over and above the enormous sums he might with some appearance of justice lay claim to, had obtained others to which he could have no title.

enjoy them in. The usual period is spent in preparing to live: and unless nature prolongs the time, fortune bestows her excess of favours in vain.

The Conqueror of the East having nothing more to expect from the one, has all his court to make to the other. Anxiety for wealth gives place to anxiety for life; and wisely recollecting that the sea is no respecter of persons, resolves on taking his route to Europe by land. Little beings move unseen, or unobserved, but he engrosses whole kingdoms in his march, and is gazed at like a comet. The burning desert, the pathless mountains, and the fertile valleys, are in their turns explored and passed over. No material accident distresses his progress, and England once more receives the spoiler.

How sweet is rest to the weary traveller; the retrospect heightens the enjoyment; and if the future prospect be serene, the days of ease and happiness are arrived. An uninquiring observer might have been inclined to consider Lord Clive, under all these agreeable circumstances: One, whose every care was over; and who had nothing to do but sit down and say, *Soul take thine ease, thou hast goods laid up in store for many years.*

The reception which he met with on his second arrival, was in every instance equal, and in many, it exceeded, the honours of the first. It is the peculiar temper of the English to applaud before they think. Generous of their praise, they frequently bestow it unworthily: but when once the truth arrives, the torrent stops, and rushes back again with the same violence.* Scarcely had the echo of applause

He, (General Burgoyne) therefore moved. "That it appears to this House, that Robert Lord Clive, baron of Plassey, about the time of deposing Surajah Dowla, Nabob of Bengal, and establishing Meer Jaffer in his room, did, through the influence of the power with which he was intrusted, as member of the Select Committee in India, and Commander in Chief of the British forces there, obtain and possess himself of two lacks and 80,000 rupees, as member of the Select Committee; a further sum of two lacks of rupees, as Commander in Chief; a further sum of 16 lacks of rupees, or more, under the denomination of *private donations*; which sums, amounting together to 20 lacks and 80,000 rupees, were of the value, in English money, of £ 214,000, and that in so doing, the said Robert Lord Clive abused the powers with which he was entrusted, to the evil example of the servants of the public."

* Lord Clive, in the defence which he made in the House of Com-

ceased upon the ear, than the rude tongue of censure took up the tale. The newspapers, fatal enemies to ill-gotten wealth, began to buz a general suspicion of his conduct, and the inquisitive public soon refined it into particulars. Every post gave a stab to fame—a wound to his peace,—and a nail to his coffin. Like spectres from the grave they haunted him in every company, and whispered murder in his ear. A life chequered with uncommon varieties is seldom a long one. Action and care will in time wear down the strongest frame, but guilt and melancholy are poisons of quick despatch.

Say, cool deliberate reflection, was the prize, though abstracted from the guilt, worthy of the pains? Ah! no. Fatigued with victory he sat down to rest, and while he was recovering breath, he lost it. A conqueror more fatal than himself beset him, and revenged the injuries done to India.

As a cure for avarice and ambition let us take a view of him in his latter years.—Ha! what gloomy being wanders yonder? How visibly is the melancholy heart delineated on his countenance. He mourns no common care—his very steps are timed to sorrow—he trembles with a kind of mental palsy. Perhaps it is some broken-hearted parent, some

mons, against the charges mentioned in the preceding note, very positively insists on his innocence, and very pathetically laments his situation; and after informing the House of the thanks which he had some years before received, for the same actions which they are now endeavouring to censure him for, he says,

“After such certificates as these, Sir, am I to be brought here like a criminal, and the very best parts of my conduct construed into crimes against the state? Is this the reward that is now held out to persons who have performed such important services to their country? If it is, Sir, the future consequences that will attend the execution of any important trust, committed to the persons who have the care of it, will be fatal indeed; and I am sure the noble Lord upon the treasury bench, whose great humanity and abilities I revere, would never have consented to the resolutions that passed the other night, if he had thought on the dreadful consequences that would attend them. Sir, I cannot say that I either sit or rest easy, when I find that all I have in the world is likely to be confiscated, and that no one will take my security for a shilling. These, Sir, are dreadful apprehensions to remain under, and I cannot look upon myself but as a bankrupt. I have not any thing left which I can call my own, except my paternal fortune of £500 per annum, and which has been in the family for ages past. But upon this I am content to live, and perhaps I shall find more real content of mind and happiness than in the trembling affluence of an unsettled fortune. But, Sir, I must make one more observation, that, if the

David mourning for his Absalom, or some Heraclitus weeping for the world. I hear him mutter something about wealth—Perhaps he is poor, and hath not where withal to hide his head. Some debtor started from his sleepless pillow, to ruminate on poverty, and ponder on the horrors of a jail. Poor man! I'll to him and relieve him. Ha! 'tis Lord Clive himself! Bless me what a change! He makes I see for yonder cypress shade, a fit scene for melancholy hearts! I'll watch him there and listen to his story.

LORD CLIVE. "Can I but suffer when a beggar pities me. Ere while I heard a ragged wretch, who every mark of poverty had on, say to a sooty sweep, Ah, poor Lord Clive! while he the negro-coloured vagrant, more mercifully cruel, curst me in my hearing.

"There was a time when fortune, like a yielding mistress, courted me with smiles—She never waited to be told my wishes, but studied to discover them, and seemed not happy to herself, but when she had some favour to bestow. Ah! little did I think the fair enchantress would desert me thus; and after lavishing her smiles upon me, turn my reproacher, and publish me in folio to the world. Volumes of morality are dull and spiritless compared to me. Lord Clive is himself a treatise upon vanity, printed on a golden type. The most unlettered clown writes explanatory notes thereon, and reads them to his children. Yet I could bear these insults could I but bear myself. A strange unwelcome something hangs about me. In company I seem no company at all.—The festive board appears to me a stage, the crimson coloured port resembles blood—each glass is strangely metamorphosed to a man in armour, and every bowl appears a

definition of the Hon. Gentleman (General Burgoyne,) and of this House, is that the *state*, as expressed in these resolutions, is, *quo ad hoc*, the Company, then, Sir, every farthing that I enjoy is granted to me. But to be called, after sixteen years have elapsed, to account for my conduct in this manner, and after an uninterrupted enjoyment of my property, to be questioned and considered as obtaining it unwarrantably, is hard indeed! and a treatment I should not think the British Senate capable of. But if it should be the case, I have a conscious innocence within me, that tells me my conduct is irreproachable. *Frangas, non flectes*. They may take from me what I have; they may, as they think, make me poor, *but I will be happy!* I mean not this as my defence. My defence will be made at the bar; and, before I sit down, I have one request to make to the House *that when they come to decide upon my honour they will not forget THEIR OWN.*

Nabob. The joyous toast is like the sound of murder, and the loud laugh are groans of dying men. The scenes of India are all rehearsed, and no one sees the tragedy but myself. Ah! I discover things which are not, and hear unuttered sounds.

“O peace, thou sweet companion of the calm and innocent! Whither art thou fled? here take my gold, and all the world calls mine, and come thou in exchange. O thou, thou noisy sweep, who mixeth thy food with soot and relish it, who canst descend from lofty heights and walk the humble earth again, without repining at the change, come teach that mystery to me. Or thou, thou ragged wandering beggar, who, when thou canst not beg successfully, will pilfer from the hound, and eat the dirty morsel sweetly; be thou Lord Clive, and I will beg, so I may laugh like thee.

“Could I unlearn what I’ve already learned—unact what I’ve already acted—or would some sacred power convey me back to youth and innocence, I’d act another part—I’d keep within the vale of humble life, nor wish for what the world calls pomp.”

But since this cannot be
And only a few days and sad remain for me,
I’ll haste to quit the scene; for what is life*
When every passion of the soul’s at strife.

ATLANTICUS.

* Sometime before his death, he became very melancholy—subject to strange imaginations—and was found dead at last.

FOR THE PENNSYLVANIA MAGAZINE.

Cupid and Hymen. An Original.

As the little amorous deity was one day winging his way over a village in Arcadia, he was drawn by the sweet sound of the pipe and tabor, to descend and see what was the matter. The gods themselves are sometimes ravished with the simplicity of mortals. The groves of Arcadia were once the country seats of the celestials, where they relaxed from the business of the skies, and partook of the diversions of the villagers. Cupid being descended, was charmed with the lovely appearance of the place. Every thing he saw had an air of pleasantness. Every shepherd was in his holyday dress, and every shepherdess was decorated with a profusion of flowers. The sound of labour was not heard among them. The little cottages had a peaceable look, and were almost hidden with arbours of jessamine and myrtle. The way to the temple was strewed with flowers, and enclosed with a number of garlands and green arches. "Surely," quoth Cupid, "here is a festival to day. I'll hasten and inquire the matter."

So saying, he concealed his bow and quiver, and took a turn through the village: As he approached a building distinguished from all the rest by the elegance of its appearance, he heard a sweet confusion of voices mingled with instruments of music. "What is the matter," said Cupid to a swain who was sitting under a sycamore by the way-side, and humming a very melancholy tune, "why are you not at the feast, and why are you so sad?" "I sit here, answered the swain, to see a sight, and a sad sight 'twill be." "What is it?" said Cupid, "come tell me, for perhaps I can help you." "I was once happier than a king," replied the swain, "and was envied by all the shepherds of the place, but now every thing is dark and gloomy because"—"Because what?" said Cupid—"Because I am robbed of my Ruralinda; Gothic, the lord of the manor, hath stolen her from me, and this is to be the nuptial day." "A wedding," quoth Cupid, "and I know nothing of it, you must be mistaken shepherd, "I keep a register of marriages, and no such thing hath come to my knowledge; 'tis no wedding, I assure you, if I am not consulted about it." "The lord of the manor," continued the shepherd,

“consulted nobody but Ruralinda’s mother, and she longed to see her fair daughter the lady of the manor: He hath spent a deal of money to make all this appearance, for money will do any thing; I only wait here to see her come by, and then farewell to the hills and dales.” Cupid bade him not be rash, and left him. “This is another of Hymen’s tricks,” quoth Cupid to himself, “he hath frequently served me thus, but I’ll hasten to him and have it out with him.” So saying, he repaired to the mansion. Every thing there had an air of grandeur rather than of joy, sumptuous but not serene. The company were preparing to walk in procession to the temple. The lord of the manor looked like the father of the village, and the business he was upon gave a foolish awkwardness, to his age and dignity. Ruralinda smiled, because she *would* smile, but in that smile was sorrow. Hymen with a torch faintly burning on one side only stood ready to accompany them. The gods when they please can converse in silence, and in that language Cupid began on Hymen.

“Know Hymen,” said he, “that I am your master. Indulgent Jove gave you to me as a clerk, not as a rival, much less a superior. ’Tis my province to form the union, and your’s to witness it. But of late you have treacherously assumed to set up for yourself. ’Tis true you may chain couples together like criminals, but you cannot yoke them like lovers; besides you are such a dull fellow when I am not with you, that you poison the felicities of life. You have not a grace but what is borrowed from me. As well may the moon attempt to enlighten the earth without the sun, as you to bestow happiness when I am absent. At best you are but a temporal and a temporary god, whom Jove has appointed not to bestow, but to secure happiness, and restrain the infidelity of mankind. But assure yourself that I’ll complain of you to the synod.”

“This is very high indeed,” replied Hymen, “to be called to an account by such a boy of a god as you are. You are not of such importance in the world as your vanity thinks; for my own part I have enlisted myself with another master, and can very well do without you. Plutus* and I are greater than Cupid; you may complain and welcome, for Jove himself descended in a silver shower and conquered: and by the same power the lord of the manor hath won a damsel, in spite of all the arrows in your quiver.”

Cupid incensed at this reply, resolved to support his

* God of riches.

authority, and expose the folly of Hymen's pretensions to independance. As the quarrel was carried on in silence the company were not interrupted by it. The procession began to set forward to the temple, where the ceremony was to be performed. The lord of the manor led the beautiful Ruralinda like a lamb devoted to sacrifice. Cupid immediately dispatched a petition for assistance to his mother on one of the sun-beams, and the same messenger returning in an instant, informed him that whatever he wished should be done. He immediately cast the old Lord and Ruralinda into one of the most extraordinary sleeps ever known. They continued walking in the procession, talking to each other, and observing every ceremony with as much order as if they had been awake; their souls had in a manner crept from their bodies, as snakes creep from their skin, and leave the perfect appearance of themselves behind. And so rapidly does imagination change the landscape of life, that in the same space of time which passed over while they were walking to the temple, they both run through, in a strange variety of dreams, seven years of wretched matrimony. In which imaginary time, Gothic experienced all the mortification which age wedded to youth must expect; and she all the infelicity which such a sale and sacrifice of her person justly deserves.

In this state of reciprocal discontent they arrived at the temple: Cupid still continued them in their slumber, and in order to expose the consequences of such marriages, he wrought so magically on the imaginations of them both, that he drove Gothic distracted at the supposed infidelity of his wife, and she mad with joy at the supposed death of her husband; and just as the ceremony was about to be performed, each of them broke out into such passionate soliloquies, as threw the whole company into confusion. He exclaiming, she rejoicing; he imploring death to relieve him, and she preparing to bury him; gold, quoth Ruralinda, may be bought too dear, but the grave has befriended.—The company believing them mad, conveyed them away, Gothic to his mansion, and Ruralinda to her cottage. The next day they awoke, and being grown wise without loss of time, or the pain of real experience, they mutually declined proceeding any farther.—The old Lord continued as he was, and generously bestowed a handsome dowry on Ruralinda, who was soon after wedded to the young shepherd, that had so piteously bewailed the loss of her. The authority of Cupid was re-established, and Hymen ordered never more to appear in the village, unless Cupid introduced him.

TO A FRIEND IN PHILADELPHIA.

Paris, March 16, 1789.

I LEAVE this place to-morrow for London: I go expressly for the purpose of erecting an iron bridge, which Messrs. Walkers, of Rotheram, Yorkshire, and I have constructed, and is now ready for putting together. It is an arch of one hundred and ten feet span, and five feet high, from the chord line. It is as portable as common bars of iron, and can be put up and taken down at pleasure, and is, in fact, rendering bridges a portable manufacture.

With respect to the French revolution, be assured that every thing is going on right. Little inconveniencies, the necessary consequences of pulling down and building up, may arise; but even these are much less than ought to have been expected. Our friend, the Marquis, is like his patron and master, General Washington, acting a great part. I take over with me to London the key of the Bastile, which the Marquis intrusts to my care as his present to General Washington, and which I shall send by the first American vessel to New York. It will be yet some months before the new Constitution will be completed, at which time there is to be a procession, and I am engaged to return to Paris to carry the American flag.

In England the ministerial party oppose every iota of reformation: the high benefited clergy and bishops cry out that the church is in danger; and all those who were interested in the remains of the feudal system join in the clamour. I see very clearly that the conduct of the British government, by opposing reformation, will detach great numbers from the political interests of that country; and that France, though the influence of principles and the divine right of men to freedom, will have a stronger party in England than she ever had through the Jacobite bugbear of the divine right of kings in the Stuart line.

I wish most anxiously to see my much loved America. It is the country from whence all reformation must originally spring. I despair of seeing an abolition of the infernal traffic in negroes. We must push that matter further on your side of the water. I wish that a few well instructed could be sent among their brethren in bondage; for until they are enabled to take their own part, nothing will be done.

I am,

With many wishes for your happiness,

Your affectionate friend,

THOMAS PAINE.

TO SIR GEORGE STAUNTON, BART.

SIR,

AS I know you interest yourself in the success of the useful arts, and are a member of the society for the promotion thereof, I do myself the pleasure to send you an account of a small experiment I have been making at Messrs. Walkers' iron works at this place. You have already seen the model I constructed for a bridge of a single arch to be made of iron, and erected over the river Schuylkill, at Philadelphia; but as the dimensions may have escaped your recollections, I will begin with stating those particulars.

The vast quantities of ice and melted snow at the breaking up of the frost in that part of America, render it impracticable to erect a bridge on piers. The river can conveniently be contracted to four hundred feet, the model, therefore, is for an arch of four hundred feet span; the height of the arch in the centre, from the chord thereof, is to be about twenty feet, and to be brought off on the top, so as to make the ascent about one foot in eighteen or twenty.

The judgment of the Academy of Sciences at Paris has been given on the principles and practicability of the construction. The original, signed by the Academy, is in my possession; and in which they fully approve and support the design. They introduce their opinion by saying,

“ Il est sur que lors qu'on pense au projet d'une arche en fer de 400 pieds d'ouverture, et aux effets qui peuvent resulter d'une arche d'une si vaste étendue, il est difficile de ne pas élever des doutes sur le succès d'une pareille entreprise, par les difficultés qu'elle presente au premier aperçu. Mais si telle est la disposition des parties, et la manière dont elles sont reunis qu'il resulte de cet assemblage *un tout* très ferme et très solide, alors on n'aura plus les memes doutes sur la reussite de ce projet.”*

* It is certain that when such a project as that of making an iron arch of four hundred feet span is thought of, and when we consider the effects resulting from an arch of such vast magnitude, it would be strange if doubts were not raised as to the success of

The Academy then proceed to state the reasons on which their judgment is founded, and conclude with saying,

“ Nous concluons de tout ce que nous venons d'exposer que la pont de fer de M. Paine est ingenieusement imaginé, que la construction en est simple, solide, et propre à lui donner la force necessaire pour résister aux effets resultans de sa charge, et qu'il merite qu'on en tente l'exécution. Enfin, qu'il pourra fournir un nouvel exemple de l'application d'un métal dont on n'a pas jusqu' ici fait assez d'usage en grand, quoique dans nombre d'occasions il est peut être employé avec plus grand succès.”*

As it was my design to pass some time in England before I returned to America, I employed part of it in making the small essay I am now to inform you of.

My intention, when I came to the iron works, was to raise an arch of at least two hundred feet span, but as it was late in the fall of last year, the season was too far advanced to work out of doors, and an arch of that extent too great to be worked within doors, and as I was unwilling to lose time, I moderated my ambition with a little *common sense*, and began with such an arch as could be compassed within some of the buildings belonging to the works. As the construction of the American arch admits, in practice, of any species of curve with equal facility, I set off in preference to all others, a catenarian arch of ninety feet span, and five feet high. Were this arch converted into an arch of a circle, the diameter of its circle would be four hundred and ten feet. From the ordinates of the arch taken from the wall where the arch was struck, I produced a similar arch on the floor whereon the work was to be fitted and framed, and there was something so apparently just when the work was set out, that the looking at it promised success.

such an enterprize, from the difficulties which at first sight present themselves. But if such be the disposition of the various parts, and the method of uniting them, that the collective body should present *a whole* both firm and solid, we should then no longer have the same doubts of the success of the plan.

* We conclude from what we have just remarked that Mr. Paine's Plan of an Iron Bridge is ingeniously imagined, that the construction of it is simple, solid, and proper to give it the necessary strength for resisting the effects resulting from its burden, and that it is deserving of a trial. In short, it may furnish a new example of the application of a metal which has not hitherto been used in any works on an extensive scale, although on many occasions it is employed with the greatest success.

You will recollect that the model is composed of four parallel arched ribs, and as the number of ribs may be increased at pleasure to any breadth an arch sufficient for a road-way may require, and the arches to any number the breadth of a river may require, the constructing of one rib would determine for the whole; because if one rib succeeded, all the rest of the work, to any extent, is a repetition.

In less time than I expected, and before the winter set in, I had fitted and framed the arch, or properly the rib, completely together on the floor; it was then taken in pieces and stowed away during the winter, in a corner of a workshop, used in the mean time by the carpenters, where it occupied so small a compass as to be hid among the shavings, and though the extent of it is ninety feet, the depth of the arch at the centre two feet nine inches, and the depth at the branches six feet, the whole of it might, when in pieces, be put in an ordinary stage waggon, and sent to any part of England.

I returned to the works in April, and began to prepare for erecting; we chose a situation between a steel furnace and a workshop, which served for butments. The distance between those buildings was about four feet more than the span of the arch, which we filled up with chumps of wood at each end. I mention this as I shall have occasion to refer to it hereafter.

We soon ran up a centre to turn the arch upon, and began our erections. Every part fitted to a mathematical exactness; the raising an arch of this construction is different to the method of raising a stone arch. In a stone arch they begin at the bottom, on the extremities of the arch, and work upwards, meeting at the crown. In this we began at the crown, by a line perpendicular thereto, and worked downward each way. It differs likewise in another respect. A stone arch is raised by sections of the curve, each stone being so, and this by concentric curves. The effect likewise of the arch upon the centre is different, for as stone arches sometimes break down the centre by their weight, this, on the contrary, grew lighter on the centre as the arch increased in thickness, so much so, that before the arch was completely finished, it rose itself off the centre the full thickness of the blade of a knife from one butment to the other, and is, I suppose, the first arch of ninety feet span that ever struck itself.

I have already mentioned that the spaces between the ends of the arches and the butments were filled up with

chumps of wood, and those rather in a damp state; and though we rammed them as close as we could, we could not ram them so close as their drying, and the weight of the arch, or rib, especially when loaded, would be capable of doing; and we had now to observe the effects which the yielding and pressing up of the wood, and which corresponds to the giving way of the butments, so generally fatal to stone arches, would have upon this.

We loaded the rib with six tons of pig iron, beginning at the centre, and proceeding both ways, which is twice the weight of the iron in the rib, as I shall hereafter more particularly mention. This had not the least visible effect on the strength of the arch, but it pressed the wood home, so as to gain in three or four days, together with the drying and shrinking of the wood, above a quarter of an inch at each end, and consequently the chord or span of the arch was lengthened above half an inch. As this lengthening was more than double the feather of the key-stone in a stone arch of these dimensions, such an alteration at the butment would have endangered the safety of a stone arch, while it produced on this no other than the proper mathematical effect. To evidence this, I had recourse to the cord still swinging on the wall from which the curve of the arch was taken. I set the cord to ninety feet span, and five feet for the height of the arch, and marked the curve on the wall. I then removed the ends of the cords horizontally something more than a quarter of an inch at each end. The cord should then describe the exact catenarian curve which the rib had assumed by the same lengthening at the butments; that is, the rising of the cord should exactly correspond to the lowering of the arch, which it did through all their corresponding ordinates. The cord had risen something more than two inches at the centre, diminishing to nothing each way, and the arch had descended the same quantity, and in the same proportion. I much doubt whether a stone arch, could it be constructed as flat as this, could sustain such an alteration; and, on the contrary, I see no reason to doubt but an arch on this construction and dimensions, or corresponding thereto, might be let down to half its height, or as far as it would descend, with safety. I say, "as far as it would descend," because the construction renders it exceedingly probable that there is a point beyond which it would not descend, but retain itself independent of butments; but this cannot be explained but by a sight of the arch itself.

In four or five days, the arch having gained nearly all it could gain on the wood, except what the wood would lose by a summer's drying, the lowering of the arch began to be scarcely visible. The weight still continues on it, to which I intend to add more; and there is not the least visible effect on the perfect curvature or strength of the arch. The arch having thus gained nearly a solid bearing on the wood and the butments, and the days beginning to be warm, and the nights continuing to be cool, I had now to observe the effects of the contraction and expansion of the iron.

The Academy of Sciences at Paris, in their report on the principles and construction of this arch, state these effects as a matter of perfect indifference to the arch, or to the butments, and the experience establishes the truth of their opinion. It is probable the Academy may have taken, in part, the observations of M. Peronnet, architect to the King of France, and a member of the Academy, as some ground for that opinion. From the observations of M. Peronnet, all arches, whether of stone or brick, are constantly ascending or descending by the changes of the weather, so as to render the difference perceptible by taking a level, and that all stone and brick buildings do the same. In short, that matter is never stationary, with respect to its dimensions, but when the atmosphere is so; but that as arches, like the tops of houses, are open to the air, and at freedom to rise, and all their weight in all changes of heat and cold is the same, their pressure is very little or nothing affected by it.

I hung a thermometer to the arch where it has continued several days, and by what I can observe it equals, if not exceeds, the thermometer in exactness.

In twenty-four hours it ascends and descends between two and three-tenths of an inch at the centre, diminishing in exact mathematical proportion each way; and no sooner does an ascent or descent of half a hair's breadth appear at the centre, but it may be proportionally discovered through the whole span of ninety feet. I have affixed an index which multiplies ten times, and it can as easily be multiplied an hundred times: could I make a line of fire on each side the arch so as to heat it in the same equal manner through all its parts, as the natural air does, I would try it up to blood heat. I will not attempt a description of the construction; first, because you have already seen the model; and, secondly, that I have often observed that a thing may be so very simple as to baffle description. On this head I shall only say, that I took the idea of constructing it from a spider's web, of which

it resembles a section, and I naturally supposed, that when Nature enabled that insect to make a web, she taught it the best method of putting it together.

Another idea I have taken from Nature is, that of increasing the strength of matter by causing it to act over a larger space than it would occupy in a solid state, as is evidenced in the bones of animals, quills of birds, reeds, canes, &c. which, were they solid with the same quantity of matter, would have the same weight with a much less degree of strength.

I have already mentioned that the quantity of iron in this rib is three tons; that an arch of sufficient width for a bridge is to be composed of as many ribs as that width requires; and that the number of arches, if the breadth of a river requires more than one, may be multiplied at discretion.

As the intention of this experiment was to ascertain, first, the practicability of the construction, and, secondly, what degree of strength any given quantity of iron would have when thus formed into an arch, I employed in it no more than three tons, which is as small a quantity as could well be used in the experiment. It has already a weight of six tons constantly lying on it, without any effect on the strength or perfect curvature of the arch. What greater weight it will bear cannot be judged of; but taking even these as data, an arch of any strength, or capable of bearing a greater weight than can ever possibly come upon any bridge, may be easily calculated.

The river Schuylkill, at Philadelphia, as I have already mentioned, requires a single arch of four hundred feet span. The vast quantities of ice render it impossible to erect a bridge on piers, and is the reason why no bridge has been attempted. But great scenes inspire great ideas. The natural mightiness of America expands the mind, and it partakes of the greatness it contemplates. Even the war, with all its evils, had some advantages. It energized invention and lessened the catalogue of impossibilities. At the conclusion of it every man returned to his home to repair the ravages it had occasioned, and *to think of war no more*. As one amongst thousands who had borne a share in that memorable revolution, I returned with them to the re-enjoyment of quiet life, and, that I might not be idle, undertook to construct a bridge of a single arch for this river. Our beloved General had engaged in rendering another river, the Patowmac, navigable. The quantity of iron I had allowed in my plan for this arch was five hundred and twenty tons,

to be distributed into thirteen ribs, in commemoration of the Thirteen United States, each rib to contain forty tons; but although strength is the first object in works of this kind, I shall, from the success of this experiment, very considerably lessen the quantity of iron I had proposed.

The Academy of Sciences, in their report upon this construction, say, "there is one advantage in the construction of M. Paine's bridge that is singular and important, which is, that the success of an arch to any span can be determined before the work be undertaken on the river, and with a small part of the expence of the whole, by erecting part on the ground."

As to its appearance, I shall give you an extract of a letter from a gentleman in the neighbourhood, member in the former parliament for this county, who, in speaking of the arch says, "In point of elegance and beauty, it far exceeds my expectations, and it is certainly beyond any thing I ever saw." I shall likewise mention, that it is much visited and exceedingly admired by the ladies, who, though they may not be much acquainted with mathematical principles, are certainly judges of taste.

I shall close my letter with a few other observations, naturally and necessarily connected with the subject.

That, contrary to the general opinion, the most preservative situation in which iron can be placed is within the atmosphere of water, whether it be that the air is less saline and nitrous than that which arises from the filth of streets and the fermentation of the earth, I am not undertaking to prove; I speak only of fact, which any body may observe by the rings and bolts in wharfs and other watery situations. I never yet saw the iron chain affixed to a well-bucket consumed or injured by rust; and I believe it is impossible to find iron exposed to the open air in the same preserved condition as that which is exposed over water.

A method for extending the span and lessening the height of arches has always been the *desideratum* of bridge architecture. But it has other advantages. It renders bridges capable of becoming a portable manufacture, as they may, on this construction, be made and sent to any part of the world ready to be erected; and at the same time that it greatly increases the magnificence, elegance, and beauty of bridges, it considerably lessens their expence, and their appearance by re-painting will be ever new; and as they may be erected in all situations where stone bridges can be erected, they

may, moreover, be erected in certain situations, where, on account of ice, infirm foundations in the beds of rivers, low shores, and various other causes, stone bridges cannot be erected. The last convenience, and which is not inconsiderable, that I shall mention is, that after they are erected, they may very easily be taken down without any injury to the materials of the construction, and be re-erected elsewhere.

I am, Sir,

Your much obliged,

And obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

TO THE AUTHORS OF THE REBPULICAN.

GENTLEMEN,

M. DUCHASTELET has mentioned to me the intention of some persons to commence a work under the title of *The Republican*.

As I am a citizen of a country, which knows no other Majesty than that of the People—no other Government than that of the Representative Body—no other Sovereignty than that of the Laws, and which is attached to *France* both by alliance and by gratitude, I voluntarily offer you my services in support of principles as honourable to a nation, as they are adapted to promote the happiness of mankind. I offer them to you with the more zeal, as I know the moral, literary, and political character of those who are engaged in the undertaking, and find myself honoured in their good opinion.

But I must, at the same time, observe, that from my ignorance of the French language, my works must necessarily undergo a translation; they can, of course, be but of little utility, and my offering must consist more of wishes than services. I must add, that I am obliged to pass part of this summer in England and Ireland.

As the Public has done me the unmerited favour of recognizing me under the appellation of “Common Sense,” which is my usual signature, I shall continue it in this publication to avoid mistakes, and to prevent my being supposed the author of works not my own. As to my political principles, I shall endeavour, in this letter, to trace their general features in such a manner as that they cannot be misunderstood.

It is desirable in most instances to avoid that which may give even the least suspicion with respect to the part meant to be adopted, and particularly on the present occasion, where a perfect clearness of expression is necessary to the avoidance of any possible misinterpretation. I am happy, therefore, to find, that the work in question is entitled “*The Republican*.” This word expresses perfectly the idea which we ought to have of Government in general—*Res Publica*—the public affairs of a nation.

As to the word *Monarchy*, though the address and intrigue

of courts have rendered it familiar, it does not contain the less of reproach or of insult to a nation. The word, in its immediate and original sense, signifies the *absolute power of a single individual*, who may prove a fool, an hypocrite, or a tyrant. The appellation admits of no other interpretation than that which is here given. *France* is, therefore, not a *Monarchy*; it is insulted when called by that name. The servile spirit which characterizes this species of Government is banished from FRANCE, and this country, like AMERICA, can now afford to Monarchy no more than a glance of disdain.

Of the errors which monarchic ignorance or knavery has spread through the world, the one which bears the marks of the most dexterous invention is the opinion that the system of *Republicanism* is only adapted to a small country, and that a *Monarchy* is suited, on the contrary, to those of greater extent. Such is the language of courts, and such the sentiments which they have caused to be adopted in monarchic countries; but the opinion is contrary, at the same time, to principle, and to experience.

The GOVERNMENT, to be of real use, should possess a complete knowledge of all the parties—all the circumstances, and all the interests of a nation. The monarchic system, in consequence, instead of being suited to a country of great extent, would be more admissible in a small territory, where an individual may be supposed to know the affairs and interests of the whole. But when it is attempted to extend this individual knowledge to the affairs of a great country, the capacity of knowing bears no longer any proportion to the extent or multiplicity of the objects which ought to be known, and the Government inevitably falls from ignorance into tyranny. For the proof of this position we need only look to Spain, Russia, Germany, Turkey, and the whole of the Eastern Continent—Countries, for the deliverance of which I offer my sincere wishes.

On the contrary, the true *Republican* system, by Election and Representation, offers the only means which are known, and, in my opinion, the only means which are possible, of proportioning the wisdom and the information of a Government to the extent of a country.

The system of *Representation* is the strongest and most powerful centre that can be devised for a nation. Its attraction acts so powerfully, that men give it their approbation even without reasoning on the cause; and FRANCE, however distant its several parts, finds itself at this moment

an whole in its *central* Representation. The citizen is assured that his rights are protected, and the soldier feels that he is no longer the slave of a despot, but that he is become one of the nation, and interested of course in its defence.

The States at present styled *Republican*, as Holland, Genoa, Venice, Berne, &c. are not only unworthy of the name, but are actually in opposition to every principle of a *Republican* Government, and the countries submitted to their power are, truly speaking, subjected to an *Aristocratic* slavery.

It is, perhaps, impossible in the first steps which are made in a Revolution, to avoid all kind of error, in principle or in practice, or in some instances, to prevent the combination of both. Before the sense of a nation is sufficiently enlightened, and before men have entered into the habits of a free communication with each other of their natural thoughts, a certain reserve—a timid prudence seizes on the human mind, and prevents it from attaining its level, with that vigour and promptitude which belong to *right*.—An example of this influence discovers itself in the commencement of the present Revolution; but happily, this discovery has been made before the Constitution was completed, and in time to provide a remedy.

The *hereditary succession* can never exist as a matter of *right*; it is a *nullity*—a *nothing*. To admit the idea is to regard men as a species of property belonging to some individuals, either born or to be born! It is to consider our descendants and all posterity as mere animals, without a right or a will! It is, in fine, the most base and humiliating idea that ever degraded the human species, and which, for the honour of humanity, should be destroyed for ever.

The idea of hereditary succession is so contrary to the Rights of Man, that if we were ourselves to be recalled to existence, instead of being replaced by our posterity, we should not have the right of depriving ourselves beforehand of those *rights* which would then properly belong to us. On what ground, then, or by what authority, do we dare to deprive of their rights those children who will soon be men? Why are we not struck with the injustice which we perpetrate on our descendants, by endeavouring to transmit them as a vile herd, to masters whose vices are all that can be foreseen?

Whenever the *French* Constitution shall be rendered conformable to its *Declaration of Rights*, we shall then be

enabled to give to France, and with justice, the appellation of a *civic Empire*; for its Government will be the empire of laws founded on the great republican principles of *Elective Representation*, and the *Rights of Man*.—But Monarchy and Hereditary Succession are incompatible with the basis of its constitution.

I hope that I have at present sufficiently proved to you that I am a good republican; and I have such a confidence in the truth of these principles, that I doubt not they will soon be as universal in *France* as in *America*. The pride of human nature will assist their evidence, will contribute to their establishment, and men will be ashamed of Monarchy.

I am, with respect, Gentlemen,

Your friend,

THOMAS PAINE.

TO THE ABBE SYEYES.

SIR,

Paris, July 8, 1791.

AT the moment of my departure for England, I read in the *Moniteur* of Tuesday last, your letter, in which you give the challenge on the subject of Government, and offer to defend what is called the Monarchical system against the Republican system.

I accept of your challenge with pleasure; and I place such a confidence in the superiority of the Republican system over the nullity of system, called Monarchy, that I engage not to exceed the extent of fifty pages, and to leave you the liberty of taking as much latitude as you may think proper.

The respect which I bear your moral and literary reputation, will be your security for my candour in the course of this discussion; but, notwithstanding that I shall treat the subject seriously and sincerely, let me premise, that I consider myself at liberty to ridicule as they deserve, Monarchical absurdities, whensoever the occasion shall present itself.

By Republicanism, I do not understand what the name signifies in Holland, and in some parts of Italy. I understand simply a government by representation—a government founded upon the principles of the Declaration of Rights; principles to which several parts of the French Constitution arise in contradiction. The Declaration of the Rights of France and America are but one and the same thing in principles, and almost in expressions; and this is the Republicanism which I undertake to defend against what is called Monarchy and Aristocracy.

I see with pleasure, that in respect to one point we are already agreed; and *that is, the extreme danger of a civil list of thirty millions.* I can discover no reason why one of the parts of the Government should be supported with so extravagant a profusion, whilst the other scarcely receives what is sufficient for its common wants.

This dangerous and dishonourable disproportion, at once supplies the one with the means of corrupting, and throws the other into the predicament of being corrupted. In America there is but little difference, with regard to this

point, between the legislative and the executive part of our government; but the first is much better attended to than it is in France.*

In whatsoever manner, Sir, I may treat the subject of which you have proposed the investigation, I hope that you will not doubt of my entertaining for you the highest esteem. I must also add, that I am not the personal enemy of kings. Quite the contrary. No man more heartily wishes than myself to see them all in the happy and honourable state of private individuals; but I am the avowed, open, and intrepid enemy of what is called Monarchy; and I am such by principles which nothing can alter or corrupt--by my attachment to humanity; by the anxiety which I feel within myself for the dignity and the honour of the human race; by the disgust which I experience, when I observe men directed by children, and governed by brutes; by the horror which all the evils that Monarchy has spread over the earth excite within my breast; and by those sentiments which make me shudder at the calamities, the exactions, the wars, and the massacres with which Monarchy has crushed mankind: in short, it is against all the hell of Monarchy that I have declared war.

THOMAS PAINE.

* A Deputy to the Congress receives about a guinea and a half daily; and provisions are cheaper in America than in France.

ADDRESS AND DECLARATION.

At a select Meeting of the Friends of Universal Peace and Liberty, held at the Thatched House Tavern, St. James's Street, August 20, 1791, the following Address and Declaration to our Fellow Citizens was agreed on and ordered to be published.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,

AT a moment like the present, when wilful misrepresentations are industriously spread by the partizans of arbitrary power, and the advocates of passive obedience and court government, we think it incumbent on us to declare to the world our principles, and the motives of our conduct.

We rejoice at the glorious event of the *French Revolution*.

If it be asked—What is the French Revolution to us?

We answer (as it has been already answered in another place*), *It is much* to us as men: much to us as Englishmen.

As men we rejoice in the freedom of twenty-five millions of our fellow men. We rejoice in the prospect which such a magnificent example opens to the world. We congratulate the French nation for having laid the axe to the root of tyranny, and for erecting government on the sacred HEREDITARY RIGHTS OF MAN—Rights which appertain to ALL, and not to any one more than to another. We know of no human authority superior to that of a whole nation; and we profess and proclaim it as our principle, that every nation has at all times an inherent indefeasible right to constitute and establish such government for itself as best accords with its disposition, interest, and happiness.

As Englishmen we also rejoice, because we are *immediately* interested in the French Revolution.

Without enquiring into the justice on either side of the reproachful charges of intrigue and ambition, which the English and French Courts have constantly made on each other, we confine ourselves to this observation:—That if the court of France only was in fault, and the numerous wars

* Declaration of the volunteers of Belfast.

which have distressed both countries are chargeable to her alone, that court now exists no longer; and the cause and the consequence must cease together. The French, therefore, by the Revolution they have made, have conquered for us as well as for themselves; if it be true that their court only was in fault, and ours never.

On this state of the case, the French Revolution concerns us *immediately*. We are oppressed with a heavy national debt, a burthen of taxes, and an expensive administration of government, beyond those of any people in the world. We have also a very numerous poor; and we hold that the moral obligations of providing for old age, helpless infancy, and poverty, is far superior to that of supplying the invented wants of courtly extravagance, ambition, and intrigue.

We believe there is no instance to be produced but in England, of *seven* millions of inhabitants, which make but little more than *one* millions of families, paying yearly SEVENTEEN MILLIONS of taxes.

As it has always been held out by all administrations that the restless ambition of the court of France rendered this expence necessary to us for our own defence, we consequently rejoice as men deeply interested in the French Revolution, for that court, as we have already said, exists no longer; and consequently the same enormous expences need not continue to us.

Thus rejoicing, as we sincerely do, both as men and Englishmen, as lovers of universal peace and freedom, and as friends to our own national prosperity and a reduction of our public expences, we cannot but express our astonishment that any part, or any members of our own government, should reprobate the extinction of that very power in France, or wish to see it restored, to whose influence they formerly attributed (whilst they appeared to lament) the enormous increase of our own burthens and taxes. What, then, are they sorry that the pretence for new oppressive taxes and the occasion for continuing many old taxes will be at an end? If so, and if it is the policy of courts and court governments, to prefer enemies to friends, and a system of war to that of peace, as affording more pretences for places, offices, pensions, revenue, and taxation, it is high time for the people of every nation to look with circumspection to their own interests.

Those who *pay* the expence, and *not* those who *participate* in the emoluments arising from it, are the persons immediately interested in inquiries of this kind. We are a part

of that national body on whom this annual expence of seventeen millions falls; and we consider the present opportunity of the French Revolution as a most happy one for lessening the enormous load under which this nation groans. If this be not done, we shall then have reason to conclude, that the cry of intrigue and ambition against *other* courts is no more than the common cant of *all* courts.

We think it also necessary to express our astonishment that a government, desirous of being called FREE, should prefer connections with the most despotic and arbitrary powers in Europe. We know of none more deserving this description than those of Turkey and Prussia, and the whole combination of German despots. Separated as we happily are by nature from the tumults of the Continent, we reprobate all systems and intrigues which sacrifice (and that too at a great expence) the blessings of our natural situation.—Such systems cannot have a national origin.

If we are asked, what government is?—We hold it to be nothing more than a NATIONAL ASSOCIATION, and we hold that to be the best which secures to every man his rights, and promotes the greatest quantity of happiness with the *least expence*.

We live to improve, or we live in vain; and therefore we admit of no maxims of government or policy on the mere score of antiquity, or other men's authority, the *old* whigs or the *new*.

We will exercise the reason with which we are endued, or we possess it unworthily. As reason is given at all times, it is for the purpose of being used at all times.

Among the blessings which the French Revolution has produced to that nation, we enumerate the abolition of the feudal system of injustice and tyranny on the 4th of August, 1789. Beneath the feudal system all Europe has long groaned, and from it England is not yet free. Game laws, borough tenures, and tyrannical monopolies of numerous kinds, still remain amongst us; but rejoicing as we sincerely do in the freedom of others, till we shall happily accomplish our own, we intended to commemorate this prelude to the universal extirpation of the feudal system, by meeting on the anniversary of that day (the 4th of August) at the Crown and Anchor. From this meeting we were prevented by the interference of certain *un-named* and *skulking* persons with the master of the Tavern, who informed us, that on *their* representations he could not receive us.—Let those who live by or countenance feudal oppressions, take the reproach

of this ineffectual meanness and cowardice to themselves. They cannot stifle the public declaration of our honest, open, and avowed opinions.

These are our principles, and these our sentiments. They embrace the interest and happiness of the great body of the nation of which we are a part. As to riots and tumults let those answer for them who, by wilful misrepresentations, endeavour to excite and promote them; or who seek to *stun* the sense of the nation, and to lose the great cause of public good in the outrages of a misinformed mob. We take our ground on principles that require no such riotous aid. We have nothing to apprehend from the poor; for we are pleading their cause. And we fear not proud oppression, for we have truth on our side. We say, and we repeat it, that the French Revolution opens to the world an opportunity in which all good citizens must rejoice—that of promoting the general happiness of man. And that it moreover offers to this country in particular an opportunity of reducing our enormous taxes.

These are our objects and we will pursue them.

J. HORNE TOOKE,
Chairman.

TO MR. JORDAN.

SIR,

Feb. 16, 1792.

SHOULD any person, under the sanction of any kind of authority, inquire of you respecting the author and publisher of the *Rights of Man*, you will please to mention me as the author and publisher of that work, and shew to such person this letter. I will as soon as I am made acquainted with it, appear and answer for the work personally.

Your humble servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

Mr. Jordan,
No. 166, Fleet-street.

PREFACE TO GENERAL LEE'S MEMOIRS.

THE following Memoirs and Letters of the late Major-General Lee have been in the possession of the Editor since the year 1786. They were transmitted from America to England by the gentleman whose name is subscribed to the Memoirs, and who was a member of Congress for the state of Georgia, for the purpose of publication. In their manuscript state they have been seen by several persons in England, who expressed a strong desire of putting them to the press, which the avocations of the person to whom they were entrusted, and his not being acquainted with such undertakings, had caused him to neglect.

As the subject of Revolutions is again renewed by what has occurred in France, it is presumed, that whatever relates to the Mother-Revolution, that of America, will, at least, afford entertainment to the curious, and contribute to increase the general stock of historical knowledge.

The reader may expect to find, in almost every thing that relates to General Lee, a great deal of the strong republican character. His attachment to principles of liberty, without regard to place, made him the citizen of the world rather than of any country; and from his earliest youth to the end of his career, this general trait in his character may be traced.

So little of the courtier had he about him, that he never descended to intimate any thing. Whatever he spoke or wrote was in the fullest style of expression, or strong figure. He used to say of Mr. Paine, the author of *Common Sense*, in America, and since of *Rights of Man*, in England, (of whose writings he was a great admirer,) that "he burst forth upon the world like Jove in thunder;" and this strength of conception, so natural to General Lee, had it not been mixed with a turn equally as strong for satire, and too much eccentricity of temper, would have rendered his conversation perpetually entertaining.

Though the Memoirs and every letter in this publication are most faithfully printed from the copy transmitted from

America, the Editor has omitted many whole letters, and also his trial before the court-martial, as not sufficiently interesting to balance the expence to which they would have extended the work. But if any of the particular friends or relations of General Lee should be desirous of seeing them, they may be indulged with the opportunity, by leaving a line at the publishers, directed to the

EDITOR.

London, Feb. 1792.

TO MR. SECRETARY DUNDAS.

Letter the First.

SIR,

London, June 6, 1792.

As you opened the debate in the House of Commons, May 25th, on the Proclamation for suppressing publications, which that proclamation (without naming any) calls wicked and seditious, and as you applied those opprobrious epithets to the works entitled "RIGHTS OF MAN," I think it unnecessary to offer any other reason for addressing this letter to you.

I begin, then, at once, by declaring that I do not believe there are to be found in the writings of any author, ancient or modern, on the subject of Government, a spirit of greater benignity, and a stronger inculcation of moral principles, than in those which I have published. They come, Sir, from a man, who, by having lived in different countries, and under different systems of Government, and who, being intimate in the construction of them, is a better judge of the subject than it is possible that you, from the want of those opportunities, can be;—and, besides this, they come from an heart that knows not how to beguile.

I will farther say, that when that moment arrives in which the best consolation that shall be left will be that of looking back on some past actions, more virtuous, more meritorious, than the rest, I shall then with happiness remember, among other things, I have written the RIGHTS OF MAN.—As to what proclamations, or prosecutions, or placements, or place-expectants—those who possess, or those who are gaping for office may say of them, it will not alter their character, either with the world or with me.

Having, Sir, made this declaration, I shall proceed to remark, not particularly upon your own speech on that occasion, but on any other speech to which your motion on that day gave rise; and I shall begin with that of Mr. ADAM.

This Gentleman accuses me of *not* having done the very thing that *I have done*, and which, he says, if I *had* done he should not have accused me.

Mr. ADAM, in his speech, (see the Morning Chronicle of May 26,) says, "That he had well considered the subject of

Constitutional Publications, and was by no means ready to say (but the contrary) that books of science upon government, though recommending a doctrine of system different from the form of our constitution, (meaning that of England) were fit objects of prosecution; that if he did, he must condemn (which he meant not to do) HARRINGTON for his *Oceana*, Sir THOMAS MORE for his *Utopia*, and HUME for his *Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth*. But, (continued Mr. Adam,) the publication of Mr. PAINE was very different; for it reviled what was *most sacred* in the constitution, destroyed every principle of subordination, and *established nothing in their room.*"

I readily perceive that Mr. Adam had not read the *Second Part of Rights of Man*, and I am put under the necessity, either of submitting to an erroneous charge, or of justifying myself against it; and I certainly shall prefer the latter.— If, then, I shall prove to Mr. ADAM, that, in my reasoning upon systems of Government in the *Second Part of Rights of Man*, I have shewn as clearly, I think, as words can convey ideas, a certain system of Government, and that not existing in theory only, but already in full and established practice, and systematically and practically free from all the vices and defects of English Government, and capable of producing more happiness to the people, and that also with an eightieth part of the taxes, which the present system of English Government consumes; I hope he will do me the justice, when he next goes to the House, to get up and confess he had been mistaken in saying, that I had *established nothing, and that I had destroyed every principle of subordination*. Having thus opened the case, I now come to the point.

In the *Second Part of RIGHTS OF MAN*, I have distinguished Government into two classes or systems; the one the hereditary system, the other the representative system.

In the *First Part of Rights of Man*, I have endeavoured to shew, and I challenge any man to refute it, that there does not exist a right to establish hereditary Government; or, in other words, hereditary governors; because hereditary Government always means a Government yet to come, and the case always is, that the People who are to live afterwards, have always the same right to choose a Government for themselves, as the People had who lived before them.

In the *Second Part of Rights of Man*, I have not repeated those arguments, because they are irrefutable; but have confined myself to shew the defects of what is called here-

ditary Government or hereditary succession, that it must, from the nature of it, throw Government into the hands of men totally unworthy of it, from want of principle, or unfitted for it from want of capacity.—James II. is recorded as an instance of the first of these cases; and instances are to be found almost all over Europe to prove the truth of the latter.

To shew the absurdity of the hereditary system still more strongly, I will now put the following case:—Take any fifty men promiscuously, and it will be very extraordinary, if out of that number, one man should be found, whose principles and talents taken together (for some might have principles, and others might have talents) would render him a person truly fitted to fill any very extraordinary office of national trust. If, then, such a fitness of character could not be expected to be found in more than one person out of fifty, it would happen but once in a thousand years to the eldest son of any one family, admitting each, on an average, to hold the office twenty years. Mr Adam talks of something in the constitution which he calls *most sacred*; but I hope he does not mean hereditary succession, a thing which appears to me a violation of every order of nature, and of common sense.

When I look into history, and see the multitudes of men, otherwise virtuous, who have died, and their families been ruined, in the defence of knaves and fools, and which they would not have done, had they reasoned at all upon the system; I do not know a greater good that an individual can render to mankind, than to endeavour to break the chains of political superstition. Those chains are now dissolving fast, and proclamations and prosecutions will serve but to hasten that dissolution.

Having thus spoken of the hereditary system as a bad system and subject to every possible defect, I now come to the representative system, and this Mr. Adam will find stated in the Second Part of Rights of Man, not only as the best, but as the only *theory* of Government under which the liberties of the people can be permanently secure.

But it is needless now to talk of mere theory, since there is already a Government in full practice, established upon that theory; or, in other words, upon the Rights of Man, and has been so for almost twenty years. Mr. Pitt, in a speech of his, some short time since, said, “that there never did, and never could exist a Government established upon those Rights, and that if it began at noon, it would end

at night." Mr. Pitt is not yet arrived at the degree of a school-boy in this species of knowledge; his practice has been confined to the means of *extorting revenue*, and his boast has been—*how much?* Whereas, the boast of the system of Government that I am speaking of, is not how much, but how little.

The system of Government purely representative, un-mixed with any thing of hereditary nonsense, began in America. I will now compare the effects of that system of Government with the system of Government in England, both during, and since the close of the war.

So powerful is the representative system, first, by combining and consolidating all the parts of a country together, however great the extent; and secondly, by admitting of none but men properly qualified into the Government, or dismissing them if they prove to be otherwise, that America was enabled thereby totally to defeat and overthrow all the schemes and projects of the hereditary Government of England against her. As the establishment of the Revolution and Independence of America is a proof of this fact, it is needless to enlarge upon it.

I now come to the comparative effect of the two systems *since* the close of the war, and I request Mr. Adam to attend to it.

America had internally sustained the ravage of upwards of seven years of war, which England had not. England sustained only the expence of the war; whereas America sustained, not only the expence, but the destruction of property committed by *both* armies. Not a house was built during that period, and many thousands were destroyed. The farms and plantations along the coast of the country, for more than a thousand miles, were laid waste. Her commerce was annihilated. Her ships were either taken, or had rotted within her own harbours. The credit of her funds had fallen upwards of ninety per cent. that is, an original hundred pounds would not sell for ten pounds. In fine, she was apparently put back an hundred years when the war closed, which was not the case with England.

But such was the event, that the same representative system of Government, though since better organized, which enabled her to conquer, enabled her also to recover, and she now presents a more flourishing condition, and a more happy and harmonized society, under that system of Government, than any country in the world can boast under any other. Her towns are rebuilt, much better than before; her farms

and plantations are in higher improvement than ever; her commerce is spread over the world, and her funds have risen from less than ten pounds the hundred to upwards of one hundred and twenty. Mr. Pitt, and his colleagues, talk of the things that have happened in his boyish administration, without knowing what greater things have happened elsewhere, and under other systems of Government.

I next come to state the expence of the two systems, as they now stand in each of the countries; but it may first be proper to observe, that Government in America is what it ought to be, a matter of honour and trust, and not made a trade for the purpose of lucre.

The whole amount of the nett taxes in England (exclusive of the expence of collection, of drawbacks, of seizures and condemnation, of fines and penalties, of fees of office, of litigations and informers, which are some of the blessed means of enforcing them) is, seventeen millions. Of this sum, about nine millions go for the payment of the interest of the national debt, and the remainder being about eight millions, is for the current annual expences. Thus much for one side of the case. I now come to the other.

The expence of all the several departments of the general Representative Government of the United States of America, extending over a space of country nearly ten times larger than England, is two hundred and ninety-four thousand, five hundred and fifty-eight dollars, which at 4s. 6d. per dollar, is £.66,275 11s. sterling, and is thus apportioned.

Expence of the Executive Department.

The office of the Presidency, at which the President receives nothing for himself	£.	s.
Vice President	5,625	0
Chief Justice	1,125	0
Five associate Justices	900	0
Nineteen Judges of Districts and Attorney General.....	3,937	10
	6,873	15

Legislative Department.

Members of Congress, at six dollars (£1. 7s.) per day, their Secretaries, Clerks, Chaplains, Messengers, Door-keepers, &c.	25,515	0
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Carried forward..... £.43,976 5

Brought forward £.43,976 5

Treasury Department.

Secretary Assistant, Comptroller, Auditor, Treasurer, Register, and Loan-office-keeper, in each State, together with all necessary Clerks, Office-keeper, &c. 12,825 0

Department of State, including Foreign Affairs.

Secretary, Clerks, &c. &c. 1,406 5

Department of War.

Secretary, Clerks, Paymasters, Commissioners, &c. &c. 1,462 10

Commissioners for settling old Accounts.

The whole Board, Clerks, &c..... 2,598 15

Incidental and Contingent Expences.

For Fire-wood, Stationary, Printing, &c. 4,006 16

Total £.66,275 11

On account of the incursions of the Indians on the back settlements, Congress is, at this time, obliged to keep six thousand militia in pay, in addition to a regiment of foot, and a battalion of artillery, which it always keeps; and this increases the expence of the War Department to 390,000 dollars, which is, £.87,795 sterling; but when peace shall be concluded with the Indians, the greatest part of this expence will cease, and the total amount of the expence of Government, including that of the army, will not amount to one hundred thousand pounds sterling, which, as has been already stated, is but an eightieth part of the expences of the English Government.

I request Mr. Adam and Mr. Dundas, and all those who are talking of Constitutions, and blessings, and Kings, and Lords, and the Lord knows what, to look at this statement. Here is a form and system of Government, that is better organized and better administered than any Government in the world, and that for less than one hundred thousand pounds per annum, and every member of Congress receives, as a

compensation for his time and attendance on public business, one pound seven shillings a day, which is at the rate of nearly five hundred pounds a year.

This is a Government that has nothing to fear. It needs no proclamations to deter people from writing and reading. It needs no political superstition to support it; it was by encouraging discussion, and rendering the press free upon all subjects of Government, that the principles of Government became understood in America, and the people are now enjoying the present blessings under it. You hear of no riots, tumults, and disorders in that country; because there exists no cause to produce them. Those things are never the effect of freedom, but of restraint, oppression and excessive taxation.

In America there is not that class of poor and wretched people that are so numerously dispersed all over England, and who are to be told by a proclamation that they are happy; and this is in a great measure to be accounted for, not by the difference of proclamations, but by the difference of Governments and the difference of taxes between that country and this. What the labouring people of that country earn they apply to their own use, and to the education of their children, and do not pay it away in taxes as fast as they earn it, to support court extravagance, and a long enormous list of place-men and pensioners; and besides this, they have learnt the manly doctrine of reverencing themselves, and consequently of respecting each other; and they laugh at those imaginary beings called Kings and Lords, and all the fraudulent trumpery of Courts.

When place-men, pensioners, or those who expect to be such, are lavish in praise of a Government, it is not a sign of its being a good one. The pension list, alone in England, (see Sir John Sinclair's History of the Revenue, page 6, of the Appendix) is one hundred and seven thousand four hundred and four pounds, *which is more than the expences of the whole Government of America amount to*. And I am now more convinced than before, that the offer that was made to me of a thousand pounds, for the copy-right of the Second Part of *Rights of Man*, together with the remaining copyright of the first part, was to have effected, by a quick suppression, what is now attempted to be done by a prosecution. The connection which the person, who made that offer, has with the King's Printing-Office, may furnish part of the means of enquiring into this affair, when

the Ministry shall please to bring their prosecution to an issue. But to return to my subject—

I have said in the Second Part of *Rights of Man*, and I repeat it here, that the service of any man, whether called King, President, Senator, Legislator, or any thing else, cannot be worth more to any country, in the regular routine of office, than ten thousand pounds per annum. We have a better man in America, and more of a gentleman, than any king I ever knew of, who does not occasion even half the expence; for, though the salary is fixed at five thousand two hundred and sixty-five pounds, he does not accept it, and it is only the incidental expences that are paid out of it. The name by which a man is called is, of itself, but an empty thing. It is worth and character which can render him valuable, for without these, Kings and Lords, and Presidents, are but jingling names.

But without troubling myself about Constitutions of Government, I have shewn in the Second Part of *Rights of Man*, that an alliance may be formed between England, France and America, and that the expences of Government in England may be put back to one million and a half, viz.

	£.
Civil expence of Government.....	500,000
Army.....	500,000
Navy.....	500,000
	1,500,000

And even this sum is fifteen times greater than the expences of Government are in America; and it is also greater than the whole peace establishment of England amounted to about an hundred years ago. So much has the weight and oppression of taxes increased since the Revolution, and especially since the year 1714.

To shew that the sum of £500,000 is sufficient to defray all the civil expences of Government, I have, in that work, annexed the following estimate for any country of the same extent as England.—

In the first place, three hundred representatives, fairly elected, are sufficient for all the purposes to which legislation can apply, and preferable to a larger number.

If, then, an allowance, at the rate of five hundred pounds per annum be made to every representative, deducting for non-attendance, the expence, if the whole number attended six months each year, would be £75,000.

The Official Departments could not possibly exceed the following number, with the salaries annexed, viz.

Three offices, at	10,000	...	30,000
Ten ditto	5,000	...	50,000
Twenty ditto.....	2,000	...	40,000
Forty ditto.....	1,000	...	40,000
Two hundred ditto	500	...	100,000
Three hundred ditto	200	...	60,000
Five hundred ditto	100	...	50,000
Seven hundred ditto.....	75	...	52,000

£.497,500

If a nation chose, it might deduct four per cent. from all the offices, and make one of twenty thousand pounds per annum, and style the person who should fill it, King, or Majesty, (or Madjesty) or give him any other title.

Taking, however, this sum of one million and a half, as an abundant supply for all the expences of Government under any form whatever, there will remain a surplus of nearly six millions and a half out of the present taxes, after paying the interest of the national debt; and I have shewn, in the Second Part of the *Rights of Man*, what appears to me the best mode of applying the surplus money; for I am now speaking of expences and savings, and not of systems of Government.

I have, in the first place, estimated the poor-rates at two millions annually, and shewn that the first effectual step would be to abolish the poor-rates entirely, (which would be a saving of two millions to the housekeepers) and to remit four millions out of the surplus taxes to the poor, to be paid them in money, in proportion to the number of children in each family, and the number of aged persons.

I have estimated the number of persons of both sexes in England, of fifty years of age and upwards, at 420,000, and have taken one third of this number, viz. 140,000 to be poor people.

To save long calculations, I have taken 70,000 of them to be upwards of fifty years of age and under sixty, and the other to be sixty years and upwards; and to allow six pounds per annum to the former class, and ten pounds per annum to the latter. The expence of which will be

Seventy thousand persons at £.6 per ann.....	420,000
Seventy thousand persons at £.10 per ditto ...	700,000

£.1,120,000

There will then remain of the four millions, £.2,380,000. I have stated two different methods of appropriating this money. The one is to pay it in proportion to the number of children in each family, at the rate of three or four pounds per annum for each child; the other is to apportion it according to the expence of living in different countries; but in either of these cases it would, together with the allowance to be made to the aged, completely take off taxes from one-third of all the families in England, besides relieving all the other families from the burthen of poor-rates.

The whole number of families in England, allotting five souls to each family, is one million four hundred thousand, of which I take one third, viz. 466,666 to be poor families, who now pay four millions of taxes, and that the poorest pays at least four guineas a year; and that the other thirteen millions are paid by the other two-thirds. The plan, therefore, as stated in the work is, first, to remit or repay, as is already stated, this sum of four millions, to the poor, because it is impossible to separate them from the others in the present mode of collecting taxes on articles of consumption; and, secondly, to abolish the poor-rates, the house and window-light tax, and to change the commutation tax into a progressive tax on large estates, the particulars of all which are set forth in the work, and to which I desire Mr. Adam to refer for particulars. I shall here content myself with saying, that to a town of the population of Manchester, it will make a difference in its favour, compared with the present state of things, of upwards of fifty thousand pounds annually, and so in proportion to all other places throughout the nation. This certainly is of more consequence, than that the same sums should be collected to be afterwards spent by riotous and profligate courtiers, and in nightly revels at the Star and Garter Tavern, Pall-Mall.

I will conclude this part of my letter with an extract from the Second Part of *Rights of Man*, which Mr. Dundas (a man rolling in luxury at the expence of the nation) has branded with the epithet of "wicked."

"By the operation of this plan, the poor-laws, those instruments of civil torture, will be superseded, and the wasteful expence of litigation prevented. The hearts of the humane will not be shocked by ragged and hungry children, and persons of seventy and eighty years of age begging for bread. The dying poor will not be dragged from place to place to breathe their last, as a reprisal of

parish upon parish. Widows will have a maintenance for their children, and not be carted away, on the death of their husbands, like culprits and criminals; and children will no longer be considered as increasing the distresses of their parents. The haunts of the wretched will be known, because it will be to their advantage, and the number of petty crimes, the offspring of poverty and distress, will be lessened. The poor, as well as the rich, will then be interested in the support of Government, and the cause and apprehensions of riots and tumults will cease. Ye who sit in ease, and solace yourselves in plenty, and such there are in Turkey, and Russia, as well as in England, and who say to yourselves, *are we not well off?* Have ye thought of these things? When ye do, ye will cease to speak and feel for yourselves alone."—Rights of Man, Part II. p. 98.

After this remission of four millions be made, and the poor-rates and house and window-light tax be abolished, and the commutation tax changed, there will still remain nearly one million and a half of surplus taxes; and as by an alliance between England, France, and America, armies and navies will, in a great measure, be rendered unnecessary; and as men who have either been brought up in, or long habited to, those lines of life, are still citizens of a nation in common with the rest, and have a right to participate in all plans of national benefit, it is stated in that work (Rights of Man, Part II.) to apply annually £507,000 out of the surplus taxes to this purpose, in the following manner:—

To fifteen thousand disbanded soldiers, 3s. per week clear (of deduction) during life.....	£ 117,000
Additional pay to the remaining soldiers, <i>per annum</i>	19,500
To the officers of the disbanded corps, during life, the same sum of.....	117,000
To fifteen thousand disbanded sailors, 3s. per week during life.....	117,000
Additional pay to the remaining sailors.....	19,500
To the officers of the disbanded part of the navy, during life.....	117,000
	<hr/> £.507,000

The limits to which it is proper to confine this letter.

will not admit of my entering into further particulars. I address it to Mr. Dundas, because he took the lead in the debate, and he wishes, I suppose, to appear conspicuous; put the purport of it is to justify myself from the charge which Mr. Adam has made.

This gentleman, as has been observed in the beginning of this letter, considers the writers of Harrington, Moore, and Hume, as justifiable and legal publications, because they reasoned by comparison, though in so doing, they shewed plans and systems of Government, not only different from, but preferable to, that of England; and he accuses me of endeavouring to confuse, instead of producing a system in the room of that which I had reasoned against; whereas, the fact is, that I have not only reasoned by comparison of the representative system against the hereditary system, but I have gone farther, for I have produced an instance of a Government established entirely on the representative system, under which much greater happiness is enjoyed, much fewer taxes required, and much higher credit is established, than under the system of Government in England. The funds in England have risen since the war only from £.54 to £.97, and they have been down since the proclamation, to £.87, whereas the funds in America rose in the mean time from £.10 to £.120. His charge against me "of destroying every principle of subordination," is equally as groundless, which even a single paragraph of the work will prove, and which I shall here quote—

"Formerly, when divisions arose respecting Governments, recourse was had to the sword, and a civil war ensued. That savage custom is exploded by the new system, and *recourse is had to a national convention*. Discussion, and the general will, arbitrates the question, and to this private opinion yields with a good grace, and *order is preserved uninterrupted*."—Rights of Man, Part II. p. 120.

That two different charges should be brought at the same time by a member of the Legislative, for *not* doing a certain thing, and the other by the Attorney-General, for *doing* it, is a strange jumble of contradiction. I have now justified myself, or the work rather, against the first, by stating the case in this letter, and the justification of the other will be undertaken in its proper place. But in any case the work will go on.

I shall now conclude this letter with saying, that the only objection I found against the plan and principles contained

in the Second Part of *Rights of Man*, when I had written the book, was, that they would beneficially interest at least ninety-nine persons out of every hundred throughout the nation, and therefore would not leave sufficient room for men to act from the direct and disinterested principle of honour; but the prosecution commenced has fortunately removed that objection, and the approvers and protectors of that work now feel the immediate impulse of honour added to that of national interest.

I am, Mr. Dundas,

Not your obedient humble Servant,

But the contrary,

THOMAS PAINE.

TO ONSLOW CRANLEY, COMMONLY CALLED LORD
ONSLOW.

SIR,

London, June 17, 1792.

I HAVE seen in the public newspapers, the following advertisement, to wit —

“ To the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, Freeholders, and other inhabitants of the county of Surrey.

“ At the requisition and desire of several of the freeholders of the county, I am, in the absence of the Sheriff, to desire the favour of your attendance, at a meeting to be held at Epsom, on Monday, the 18th inst. at twelve o'clock, to consider of an humble address to his Majesty, to express our grateful approbation of his Majesty's paternal and well-timed attention to the public welfare, in his late most gracious Proclamation against the enemies of our happy Constitution.”

(Signed)

“ ONSLOW CRANLEY.

Taking it for granted, that the aforesaid advertisement, equally as obscure as the proclamation to which it refers, has nevertheless some meaning, and is intended to effect some purpose; and as prosecution, (whether wisely or unwisely, justly or unjustly) is already commenced against a work, intitled, RIGHTS OF MAN, of which I have the honour and happiness to be the author; I feel it necessary to address this letter to you, and to request that it may be read publicly to the gentlemen who shall meet at Epsom in consequence of the advertisement.

The work now under prosecution, is, I conceive, the same work which is intended to be suppressed by the aforesaid proclamation. Admitting this to be the case, the gentlemen of the county of Surrey are called upon by somebody to condemn a work, and they are at the same time forbidden by the proclamation to know what that work is: and they are farther called upon to give their aid and assistance to prevent other people knowing it also. It is therefore necessary that the author, for his own justification, as well as to prevent the gentlemen who shall meet from being imposed upon by misrepresentation, should give

some outlines of the principles and plans which that work contains.

The work, Sir, in question, contains, first, an investigation of general principles of Government.

It also distinguishes Government into two classes, or systems; the one the hereditary system—the other the representative system; and it compares these two systems with each other.

It shews, that what is called hereditary Government cannot exist as a matter of right; because hereditary Government always means a Government yet to come; and the case always is, that those who are to live afterwards have the same right to establish a Government for themselves, as the people who had lived before them.

It also shews the defect to which hereditary Government is unavoidably subject; that it must, from the nature of it, throw Government into the hands of men totally unworthy of it from the want of principle, or unfitted for it from want of capacity. James II. and many others, are recorded in the English history, as proofs of the former of those cases, and instances are to be found almost all over Europe, to prove the truth of the latter.

It then shews, that the representative system is the only true system of Government; that it is the only system under which the liberties of any people can be permanently secure; and farther, that it is the only one that can continue the same equal probability at all times of admitting of none but men properly qualified, both by principles and abilities, into Government, and of excluding such as are otherwise.

The work shews also, by plans and calculations not hitherto denied nor controverted, not even by the prosecution that is commenced, that the taxes now existing may be reduced at least six millions, that taxes may be entirely taken off from the poor, who are computed at one-third of the nation; and that taxes on the other two-thirds may be considerably reduced—that the aged poor may be comfortably provided for, and the children of poor families properly educated—that fifteen thousand soldiers, and the same number of sailors, may be disbanded, and allowed three shillings per week during life, out of the surplus taxes; and also that a proportionate allowance may be made to the officers, and the pay of the remaining soldiers and sailors be increased; and that it is better to apply the surplus taxes to those purposes than to consume them upon lazy and profligate place-

men and pensioners; and that the revenue, said to be twenty thousand pounds per annum, raised by a tax upon coals, and given to the Duke of Richmond, is a gross imposition upon all the people of London, and ought to be instantly abolished.

This, Sir, is a concise abstract of the principles and plans contained in the work that is now prosecuted, and for the suppression of which the proclamation appears to be intended; but as it is impossible that I can, in the compass of a letter, bring into view all the matters contained in the work; and as it is proper that the gentlemen who may compose that meeting should know what the merits or demerits of it are, before they come to any resolutions, either directly or indirectly, relating thereto, I request the honour of presenting them with one hundred copies of the Second Part of the Rights of Man, and also one thousand copies of my letter to Mr. Dundas, which I have directed to be sent to Epsom for that purpose; and I beg the favour of the Chairman to take the trouble of presenting them to the gentlemen who shall meet on that occasion, with my sincere wishes for their happiness, and for that of the nation in general.

Having now closed thus much of the subject of my letter, I next come to speak of what has relation to me personally. I am well aware of the delicacy that attends it, but the purpose of calling the meeting appears to me so inconsistent with that justice which is always due between man and man, that it is proper I should (as well on account of the gentlemen who may meet, as on my own account) explain myself fully and candidly thereon.

I have already informed the gentlemen, that a prosecution is commenced against a work, of which I have the honour and happiness to be the author; and I gave good reasons for believing that the proclamation which the gentlemen are called to consider, and to present an address upon, is purposely calculated to give an impression to the Jury before whom that matter is to come. In short, that it is dictating a verdict by proclamation; and I consider the instigators of the meeting to be held at Epsom, as aiding and abetting the same improper, and in my opinion, illegal purpose, and that in a manner very artfully contrived, as I shall now shew.

Had a meeting been called of the Freeholders of the county of Middlesex, the gentlemen who had composed

that meeting would have rendered themselves objectionable as persons to serve on a Jury before whom the judicial case was afterwards to come. But by calling a meeting out of the county of Middlesex, that matter is artfully avoided, and the gentlemen of Surrey are summoned, as if it were intended thereby to give a tone to the sort of verdict which the instigators of the meeting, no doubt, wish would be brought in, and to give countenance to the Jury in so doing.

I am, Sir, with much respect to

The Gentlemen who shall meet,

Their and your obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

TO LORD ONSLOW, OR THE CHAIRMAN WHO SHALL PRE-
SIDE AT THE MEETING TO BE HELD AT EPSOM, JULY 18.

Letter the Second.

SIR,

London, June 21, 1792.

WHEN I wrote you the letter which Mr. Horne Tooke did me the favour to present to you, as Chairman of the meeting held at Epsom, Monday, June 18th, it was not with much expectation that you would do me the justice of permitting, or recommending it to be publicly read. I am well aware that the signature of Thomas Paine has something in it dreadful to sinecure placemen and pensioners; and when you, on seeing the letter opened, informed the meeting it was signed Thomas Paine, and added, in a note of exclamation, "the common enemy to us all!" you spoke one of the greatest truths you ever uttered, if you confine the expression to men of the same description with yourself; men living in indolence and luxury, on the spoil and labours of the public.

The letter has since appeared in the *Argus*, and probably in other papers. It will justify itself; but if any thing on that account had been wanting, your own conduct at the meeting would have supplied the omission. You there sufficiently proved that I was not mistaken in supposing that the meeting was called to give an indirect aid to the prosecution commenced against a work, the reputation of which will long outlive the memory of the pensioner I am writing to.

When meetings, Sir, are called by the partisans of the Court, to preclude the nation the right of investigating systems and principles of Government, and of exposing errors and defects, under the pretence of prosecuting an individual—it furnishes an additional motive for maintaining sacred that violated right.

The principles and arguments contained in the work in question, RIGHTS OF MAN, have stood, and they now stand, and I believe ever will stand, unrefuted. They are stated in a fair and open manner to the world, and they have already received the public approbation of a greater number of men, of the best of characters, of every deno-

mination of religion, and of every rank in life, (placemen and pensioners excepted) than all the juries that shall meet in England, for ten years to come, will amount to; and I have, moreover, good reasons for believing, that the approvers of that work, as well private as public, are already more numerous than all the present electors throughout the nation.

Not less than forty pamphlets, intended as answers thereto, have appeared, and as suddenly disappeared: scarcely are the titles of any of them remembered, notwithstanding their endeavours have been aided by all the daily abuse which the court and ministerial newspapers, for almost a year and a half, could bestow, both upon the work and the author; and now that every attempt to refute, and every abuse has failed, the invention of calling the work a libel has been hit upon, and the discomfited party has pusillanimously retreated to prosecution and a jury, and obscure addresses.

As I well know that a long letter from me will not be agreeable to you, I will relieve your uneasiness by making it as short as I conveniently can; and will conclude it with taking up the subject at that part where Mr. HORNE TOOKE was interrupted from going on when at the meeting.

That gentleman was stating, that the situation which you stood in rendered it improper for you to appear *actively* in a scene in which your private interest was too visible: that you were a Bed-chamber Lord at a thousand a year, and a pensioner at three thousand pounds a year more—and here he was stopped by the little, but noisy circle you had collected round. Permit me, then, Sir, to add an explanation to his words, for the benefit of your neighbours, and with which, and a few observations, I shall close my letter.

When it was reported in the English newspapers, some short time since, that the Empress of RUSSIA had given to one of her minions a large tract of country, and several thousands of peasants as property, it very justly provoked indignation and abhorrence in those who heard it. But if we compare the mode practised in England, with that which appears to us so abhorrent in Russia, it will be found to amount to very near the same thing;—for example—

As the whole of the revenue in England is drawn by taxes from the pockets of the people, those things called gifts and grants, (of which kind are all pensions and sinecure places) are paid out of that stock. The difference, therefore, between the two modes is, that in England the

money is collected by the Government, and then given to the pensioner, and in Russia he is left to collect it for himself. The smallest sum which the poorest family in a county so near London as Surrey, can be supposed to pay annually of rates, is not less than five pounds; and as your sinecure of one thousand, and pension of three thousand per annum, are made up of taxes paid by eight hundred such poor families, it comes to the same thing as if the eight hundred families had been given to you, as in Russia, and you had collected the money on your account. Were you to say that you are not quartered particularly on the people of Surrey, but on the nation at large, the objection would amount to nothing; for as there are more pensioners than counties, every one may be considered as quartered on that in which he lives.

What honour or happiness you can derive from being the **PRINCIPAL PAUPER** of the neighbourhood, and occasioning a greater expence than the poor, the aged, and the infirm, for ten miles round you, I leave you to enjoy. At the same time, I can see that it is no wonder you should be strenuous in suppressing a book which strikes at the root of those abuses. No wonder that you should be against reforms, against the freedom of the press, and the right of investigation. To you, and to others of your description, these are dreadful things; but you should also consider, that the motives which prompt you to *act*, ought, by reflection, to compel you to be *silent*.

Having now returned your compliment, and sufficiently tired your patience, I take my leave of you, with mentioning, that if you had not prevented my former letter from being read at the meeting, you would not have had the trouble of reading this; and also with requesting, that the next time you call me "*a common enemy*," you would add, "*of us sinecure placemen and pensioners*."

I am, Sir, &c. &c. &c.

THOMAS PAINE.

TO THE SHERIFF OF THE COUNTY OF SUSSEX, OR THE GENTLEMAN WHO SHALL PRESIDE AT THE MEETING TO BE HELD AT LEWES, JULY 4.

SIR,

London, June 30, 1792.

I HAVE seen in the Lewes newspapers of June 25, an advertisement, signed by sundry persons, and also, by the Sheriff, for holding a meeting at the Town-hall of Lewes, for the purpose as the advertisement states, of presenting an address on the late proclamation for suppressing writings, books, &c. And as I conceive that a certain publication of mine, entitled "Rights of Man," in which, among other things, the enormous increase of taxes, placemen and pensioners is shewn to be unnecessary and oppressive, *is the particular writing alluded to in the said proclamation*; I request the Sheriff, or in his absence, whoever shall preside at the meeting, or any other person, to read this letter publicly to the company who shall assemble in consequence of that advertisement.

Gentlemen, It is now upwards of eighteen years since I was a resident inhabitant of the town of Lewes. My situation among you as an officer of the revenue, for more than six years enabled me to see into the numerous and various distresses which the weight of taxes even at that time of day occasioned; and, feeling as I then did, and as it is natural for me to do, for the hard condition of others, it is with pleasure I can declare, and every person then under my survey, and now living, can witness the exceeding candour, and even tenderness, with which that part of the duty that fell to my share was executed. The name of *Thomas Paine* is not to be found in the records of the Lewes Justices in any one act of contention with, or severity of any kind whatever towards the persons whom he surveyed, either in the town, or in the country; of this, *Mr. Fuller* and *Mr. Shelley*, who will probably attend the meeting, can, if they please, give full testimony. It is, however, not in their power to contradict it.

Having thus indulged myself in recollecting a place where I formerly had, and even now have, many friends, rich and poor, and most probably some enemies, I proceed to the more important purport of my letter.

Since my departure from Lewes, fortune or providence, has thrown me into a line of action which my first setting out into life, could not possibly have suggested to me.

I have seen the fine and fertile country of America ravaged and deluged in blood, and the taxes of England enormously increased and multiplied in consequence thereof; and this, in a great measure, by the instigation of the same class of placemen, pensioners, and court dependants, who are now promoting addresses throughout England, on the present *unintelligible* proclamation.

I have also seen a system of Government rise up in that country, free from corruption, and now administered over an extent of territory ten times as large as England, *for less expence than the pensions alone in England amount to*; and under which more freedom is enjoyed, and a more happy state of society is preserved, and a more general prosperity is promoted, than under any other system of government now existing in the world. Knowing, as I do, the things I now declare, I should reproach myself with want of duty and affection to mankind, were I not in the most undismayed manner to publish them, as it were on the house-tops, for the good of others.

Having thus glanced at what has passed within my knowledge, since my leaving Lewes, I come to the subject more immediately before the meeting now present.

Mr. Edmund Burke, who, as I shall shew, in a future publication, has lived a concealed pensioner at the expence of the public, of fifteen hundred pounds per annum, for about ten years last past, published a book the winter before last, in open violation of the principles of liberty, and for which he was applauded by that class of men *who are now promoting addresses*. Soon after his book appeared, I published the first part of the work, entitled "Rights of Man" as an answer thereto, and had the happiness of receiving the public thanks of several bodies of men, and of numerous individuals of the best character, of every denomination in religion, and of every rank of life—placemen and pensioners excepted.

In February last, I published the Second Part of "Rights of Man," and as it met with still greater approbation from the true friends of national freedom, and went deeper into the system of government, and exposed the abuses of it, more than had been done in the first part, it consequently excited an alarm among all those, who, insensible of the burthen of taxes, which the general mass of the people

sustain, are living in luxury and indolence, and hunting after court preferments, sinecure places and pensions, either for themselves, or for their family connections.

I have shewn in that work, that the taxes may be reduced at least *six millions*, and even then, the expences of Government in England would be twenty times greater than they are in the country I have already spoken of. That taxes may be entirely taken off from the poor, by remitting to them in money at the rate of between *three and four pounds* per head per annum, for the education and bringing up of the children of the poor families, who are computed at one third of the whole nation, and *six pounds* per annum to all poor persons, decayed tradesmen, or others, from the age of fifty until sixty, and *ten pounds* per annum from after sixty. And that in consequence of this allowance, to be paid out of the surplus taxes, the poor rates would become unnecessary, and that it is better to apply the surplus taxes to these beneficent purposes *than to waste them on idle and profligate courtiers, placemen and pensioners.*

These, Gentlemen, are a part of the plans and principles contained in the work, which this meeting is now called upon, in an indirect manner, to vote an address against, and brand with the name of *wicked* and *seditious*. But that the work may speak for itself, I request leave to close this part of my letter with an extract therefrom, in the following words:

“ By the operation of this plan, the poor-laws, those instruments of civil torture, will be superseded, and the wasteful expence of litigation prevented. The hearts of the humane will not be shocked by ragged and hungry children, and persons of seventy and eighty years of age begging for bread. The dying poor will not be dragged from place to place to breathe their last, as a reprisal of parish upon parish. Widows will have a maintenance for their children, and not be carted away, on the death of their husbands, like culprits and criminals; and children will no longer be considered as increasing the distresses of their parents. The haunts of the wretched will be known, because it will be to their advantage, and the number of petty crimes, the offspring of poverty and distress, will be lessened. The poor, as well as the rich, will then be interested in the support of Government, and the cause and apprehensions of riots and tumults will cease. Ye who sit in ease, and solace yourselves in plenty, and such there are in Turkey, and Russia, as well as in England, and who say to yourselves, *are we not well off?* Have ye thought of these things? When

ye do, ye will cease to speak and feel for yourselves alone."—Rights of Man, Part II. p. 98.

Gentlemen, I have now stated to you such matters as appear necessary to me to offer to the consideration of the meeting. I have no other interest in what I am doing, nor in writing you this letter, than the interest of the *heart*. I consider the proposed address as calculated to give countenance to placemen, pensioners, enormous taxation and corruption. Many of you will recollect, that whilst I resided among you, there was not a man more firm and open in supporting the principles of liberty than myself, and I still pursue, and ever will, the same path.

I have, Gentlemen, only one request to make, which is—that those who have called the meeting will speak *out*, and say, whether in the address they are going to present against publications, which the proclamation calls wicked, "they mean the work intitled *Rights of Man*, or whether they do not?"

I am, Gentlemen,

With sincere wishes for your happiness,

Your friend and servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

TO SIR ARCHIBALD MACDONALD, ATTORNEY GENERAL,

Letter the First.

SIR,

THOUGH I have some reason for believing that you were not the original promoter or encourager of the prosecution commenced against the work entitled '*Rights of Man*,' either as that prosecution is intended to effect the author, the publisher, or the public; yet as you appear the official person therein, I address this letter to you, not as Sir Archibald Macdonald, but as Attorney-General.

You began by a prosecution against the publisher, Jordan, and the reason assigned by Mr. Secretary Dundas, in the House of Commons, in the debate on the proclamation, May 25, for taking that measure, was, he said, because Mr. Paine could not be found, or words to that effect. Mr. Paine, Sir, so far from secreting himself, never went a step out of his way, nor in the least instance varied from his usual conduct, to avoid any measure you might choose to adopt with respect to him. It is on the purity of his heart, and the universal utility of the principles and plans which his writings contain, that he rests the issue; and he will not dishonour it by any kind of subterfuge. The apartments which he occupied at the time of writing the work last winter, he has continued to occupy to the present hour, and the solicitors of the prosecution knew where to find him; of which there is a proof in their own office, as far back as the 21st of May, and also in the office of my own attorney.

But admitting, for the sake of the case, that the reason for proceeding against the publisher was, as Mr. Dundas stated, that Mr. Paine could not be found, that reason can now exist no longer.

The instant that I was informed that an information was preparing to be filed against me, as the author of, I believe, one of the most useful and benevolent books ever offered to mankind, I directed my attorney to put in an appearance; and as I shall meet the prosecution fully and fairly, and with a good and upright conscience, I have a right to expect that no act of littleness will be made use of on the part of the

prosecution towards influencing the future issue with respect to the author. This expression may, perhaps, appear obscure to you, but I am in the possession of some matters which serve to shew that the action against the publisher is not intended to be a *real* action. If, therefore, any persons concerned in the prosecution have found their cause so weak as to make it appear convenient to them to enter into a negociation with the publisher, whether for the purpose of his submitting to a verdict, and to make use of the verdict so obtained as a circumstance, by way of precedent, on a future trial against myself; or for any other purpose not fully made known to me; if, I say, I have cause to suspect this to be the case, I shall most certainly withdraw the defence I should otherwise have made, or promoted, on his (the publisher's) behalf, and leave the negociators to themselves, and shall reserve the whole of the defence for the *real* trial.

But, Sir, for the purpose of conducting this matter with at least the appearance of fairness and openness that shall justify itself before the public, whose cause it really is (for it is the right of public discussion and investigation that is questioned), I have to propose to you to cease the prosecution against the publisher; and as the reason or pretext can no longer exist for continuing it against him because Mr. Paine could not be found, that you would direct the whole process against me, with whom the prosecuting party will not find it possible to enter into any private negociation.

I will do the cause full justice, as well for the sake of the nation, as for my own reputation.

Another reason for discontinuing the process against the publisher is, because it can amount to nothing. First, because a jury in London cannot decide upon the fact of publishing beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of London, and therefore the work may be republished over and over again in every county in the nation, and every case must have a separate process; and by the time that three or four hundred prosecutions have been had, the eyes of the nation will then be fully open to see that the work in question contains a plan the best calculated to root out all the abuses of government, and to lessen the taxes of the nation upwards of *six millions annually*.

Secondly, Because though the gentlemen of London may be very expert in understanding their particular professions and occupations, and how to make business contracts with government beneficial to themselves as individuals, the rest

of the nation may not be disposed to consider them sufficiently qualified nor authorised to determine for the whole nation on plans of reform, and on systems and principles of government. This would be in effect to erect a jury into a national convention, instead of electing a convention, and to lay a precedent for the probable tyranny of juries, under the pretence of supporting their rights.

That the possibility always exists of packing juries will not be denied; and, therefore, in all cases, where government is the prosecutor, more especially in those where the right of public discussion and investigation of principles and systems of government is attempted to be suppressed by a verdict, or in those where the object of the work that is prosecuted is the reform of abuse and the abolition of sinecure places and pensions, in all these cases the verdict of a jury will itself become a subject of discussion; and, therefore, it furnishes an additional reason for discontinuing the prosecution against the publisher, more especially as it is not a secret that there has been a negotiation with him for secret purposes, and for proceeding against me only. I shall make a much stronger defence than what I believe the Treasury Solicitor's agreement with him will permit him to do.

I believe that Mr. Burke, finding himself defeated, and not being able to make any answer to the *Rights of Man*, has been one of the promoters of this prosecution; and I shall return the compliment to him by shewing, in a future publication, that he has been a masked pensioner at £1500 per annum for about ten years.

Thus it is that the public money is wasted, and the dread of public investigation is produced.

I am, SIR,

Your obedient humble Servant,

THOMAS PAINE.

TO MR. SECRETARY DUNDAS.

Letter the Second.

SIR,

Calais, Sept. 15, 1792.

I CONCEIVE it necessary to make you acquainted with the following circumstance:—The department of Calais having elected me a member of the National Convention of France, I set off from London the 13th instant, in company with Mr. Frost, of Spring Gardens, and Mr. Audibert, one of the municipal officers of Calais, who brought me the certificate of my being elected. We had not arrived more, I believe, than five minutes at the York Hotel, at Dover, when the train of circumstances began that I am going to relate. We had taken our baggage out of the carriage and put it into a room, into which we went. Mr. Frost having occasion to go out, was stopped in the passage by a gentleman, who told him he must return into the room, which he did, and the gentleman came in with him, and shut the door; I had remained in the room. Mr. Audibert was gone to inquire when the packet was to sail. The gentleman then said, that he was Collector of the Customs, and had an information against us, and must examine our baggage for prohibited articles. He produced his commission as Collector. Mr. Frost demanded to see the information, which the Collector refused to shew, and continued to refuse on every demand that we made. The Collector then called in several other officers, and began first to search our pockets. He took from Mr. Audibert, who was then returned into the room, every thing he found in his pocket, and laid it on the table. He then searched Mr. Frost in the same manner, (who, among other things, had the keys of the trunks in his pocket) and then did the same by me. Mr. Frost wanting to go out, mentioned it, and was going towards the door; on which the Collector placed himself against the door, and said nobody should depart the room. After the keys had been taken from Mr. Frost (for I had given him the keys of my trunks beforehand, for the purpose of his attending the baggage to the Customs, if it should be necessary) the Collector asked us to open the trunks, presenting us the keys for that purpose; this we declined to do, unless he would produce his information,

which he again refused. The Collector then opened the trunks himself, and took out every paper and letter, sealed or unsealed. On our remonstrating with him on the bad policy, as well as the illegality of Custom-house Officers seizing papers and letters, which were things that did not come under their cognizance, he replied, that the *Proclamation* gave him the authority.

Among the letters which he took out of my trunk were two sealed letters, given into my charge by the American Minister in London, one of which was directed to the American Minister at Paris, the other to a private gentleman; a letter from the President of the United States, and a letter from the Secretary of State in America, both directed to me, and which I had received from the American Minister now in London, and were private letters of friendship; a letter from the Electoral Body of the department of Calais containing the notification of my being elected to the National Convention; and a letter from the President of the National Assembly, informing me of my being also elected for the department of Oise.

As we found that all remonstrances with the Collector, on the bad policy and illegality of seizing papers and letters, and retaining our persons by force, under the pretence of searching for prohibited articles, were vain, (for he justified himself on the Proclamation, and on the information which he refused to shew) we contented ourselves with assuring him, that what he was then doing, he would afterwards have to answer for, and left it to himself to do as he pleased.

It appeared to us that the Collector was acting under the direction of some other person or persons then in the Hotel, but whom he did not choose we should see, or who did not choose to be seen by us; for the Collector went several times out of the room for a few minutes, and was also called out several times.

When the Collector had taken what papers and letters he pleased out of the trunks, he proceeded to read them. The first letter he took up for this purpose was that from the President of the United States to me. While he was doing this, I said, that it was very extraordinary that General Washington could not write a letter of private friendship to me without its being subject to be read by a Custom-house Officer. Upon this Mr. Frost laid his hand over the face of the letter, and told the Collector that he should not read it, and took it from him. Mr. Frost then casting his eyes on the concluding paragraph of the letter, said, I

will read this part to you, which he did; of which the following is an exact transcript—"And as no one can see a greater interest in the happiness of mankind than I do, it is the first wish of my heart, that the enlightened policy of the present age may diffuse to all men those blessings to which they are entitled, and lay the foundation of happiness to future generations."

As all the other letters and papers lay then on the table, the Collector took them up, and was going out of the room with them. During the transactions already stated, I contented myself with observing what passed, and spoke but little; but on seeing the Collector going out of the room with the letters, I told him that the papers and letters then in his hand, were either belonging to me, or entrusted to my charge, and that as I could not permit them to be out of my sight, I must insist on going with him.

The Collector then made a list of the letters and papers, and went out of the room, giving the letters and papers into the charge of one of the officers. He returned in a short time, and, after some trifling conversation, chiefly about the Proclamation, told us, that he saw *the Proclamation was ill-founded*, and asked if we chose to put the letters and papers into the trunks ourselves, which, as we had not taken them out, we declined doing, and he did it himself, and returned us the keys.

In stating to you these matters, I make no complaint against the personal conduct of the Collector, or of any of the officers. Their manner was as civil as such an extraordinary piece of business could admit of.

My chief motive in writing to you on this subject is, that you may take the measures for preventing the like in future, not only as it concerns private individuals, but in order to prevent a renewal of those unpleasant consequences that have heretofore arisen between nations from circumstances equally as insignificant. I mention this only for myself; but as the interruption extended to two other gentlemen, it is probable that they, as individuals, will take some more effectual mode for redress.

I am, Sir, your's, &c.

THOMAS PAINE.

P. S. Among the papers seized was a copy of the Attorney-General's information against me for publishing the *Rights of Man*, and a printed proof copy of my Letter to the Addressers, which will soon be published.

TO THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE.

FELLOW CITIZENS!

I RECEIVE, with affectionate gratitude, the honour which the late National Assembly has conferred upon me, by adopting me a citizen of France; and the additional honour of being elected by my fellow citizens a Member of the National Convention. Happily impressed, as I am, by those testimonies of respect shewn towards me as an individual, I feel my felicity increased by seeing the barrier broken down that divided patriotism by spots of earth, and limited citizenship to the soil, like vegetation.

Had those honours been conferred in an hour of national tranquillity, they would have afforded no other means of shewing my affection, than to have accepted and enjoyed them; but they come accompanied with circumstances that give me the honourable opportunity of commencing my citizenship in the stormy hour of difficulties. I come not to enjoy repose. Convinced that the cause of France is the cause of all mankind, and that as liberty cannot be purchased by a wish, I gladly share with you the dangers and honours necessary to success.

I am well aware that the moment of any great change, such as that accomplished on the 10th of August, is unavoidably the moment of terror and confusion. The mind, highly agitated by hope, suspicion and apprehension, continues without rest till the change be accomplished. But let us now look calmly and confidentially forward, and success is certain. It is no longer the paltry cause of kings, or of this, or of that individual, that calls France and her armies into action. It is the great cause of ALL. It is the establishment of a new æra, that shall blot despotism from the earth, and fix, on the lasting principles of peace and citizenship, the great Republic of Man.

It has been my fate to have borne a share in the commencement and complete establishment of one Revolution—I mean the Revolution of America. The success and events of that Revolution are encouraging to us. The prosperity and happiness that have since flowed to that country, have amply rewarded her for all the hardships she endured, and for all the dangers she encountered.

The principles on which that Revolution began, have extended themselves to Europe: and an over-ruling Providence is regenerating the Old World by the principles of the New. The distance of America from all other parts of the globe did not admit of her carrying those principles beyond her own situation. It is to the peculiar honour of France, that she now raises the standard of liberty for all nations; and in fighting her own battles contends for the rights of all mankind.

The same spirit of fortitude that insured success to America, will insure it to France, for it is impossible to conquer a nation determined to be free! The military circumstances that now unite themselves to France, are such as the despots of the earth know nothing of, and can form no calculation upon. They know not what it is to fight against a nation; they have only been accustomed to make war upon each other, and they know from system and practice, how to calculate the probable success of despot against despot; and here their knowledge and their experience end.

But in a contest like the present, a new and boundless variety of circumstances arise, that deranges all such customary calculations. When a whole nation acts as an army, the despot knows not the extent of the power against which he contends. New armies rise against him with the necessity of the moment. It is then that the difficulties of an invading enemy multiply, as in the former case they diminished; and he finds them at their height when he expected them to end.

The only war that has any similarity of circumstances with the present, is the late revolutionary war in America. On her part, as it now is in France, it was a war of the whole nation:—there it was that the enemy, by beginning to conquer, put himself in a condition of being conquered. His first victories prepared him for defeat. He advanced till he could not retreat, and found himself in the midst of a nation of armies.

Were it now to be proposed to the Austrians and Prussians to escort them into the middle of France, and there leave them to make the most of such a situation, they would see much into the dangers of it to accept the offer, and the same dangers would attend them, could they arrive there by any other means. Where, then, is the military policy of their attempting to obtain, by force, that which they would refuse by choice? But to reason with despots is throwing

reason away. The best of argument is a vigorous preparation.

Man is ever a stranger to the ways by which Providence regulates the order of things. The interference of foreign despots may serve to introduce into their own enslaved countries the principles they come to oppose. Liberty and equality are blessings too great to be the inheritance of France alone. It is honour to her to be their first champion; and she may now say to her enemies, with a mighty voice, "O, ye Austrians, ye Prussians! ye who now turn your bayonets against us, it is for you, it is for all Europe, it is for all mankind, and not for France alone, that she raises the standard of Liberty and Equality."

The public cause has hitherto suffered from the contradictions contained in the Constitution of the former Constituent Assembly. Those contradictions have served to divide the opinions of individuals at home, and to obscure the great principles of the Revolution in other countries. But when those contradictions shall be removed, and the Constitution be made conformable to the Declaration of Rights; when the bagatelles of monarchy, royalty, regency, and hereditary succession, shall be exposed, with all their absurdities, a new ray of light will be thrown over the world, and the Revolution will derive new strength by being universally understood.

The scene that now opens itself to France, extends far beyond the boundaries of her own dominions. Every nation is becoming her colleague, and every court is become her enemy. It is now the cause of all nations against the cause of all courts. The terrors that despotism felt, clandestinely begot a confederation of despots; and their attack upon France is produced by their fears at home.

In entering on this great scene, greater than any nation has yet been called to act in, let us say to the agitated mind, be calm. Let us punish by instructing, rather than by revenge. Let us begin the new era by a greatness of friendship, and hail the approach of union and success.

Your Fellow-Citizen,

THOMAS PAINE.

TO THE ATTORNEY GENERAL ON THE PROSECUTION
AGAINST THE SECOND PART OF RIGHTS OF MAN.

Letter the Second.

SIR, Paris, Nov. 11th, 1st year of the Republic.
As there can be no personal resentment between two strangers, I write this letter to you, as a man against whom I have no animosity.

You have, as Attorney-General, commenced a prosecution against me, as the author of *Rights of Man*. Had not my duty, in consequence of my being elected a member of the National Convention of France, called me from England, I should have staid to have contested the injustice of that prosecution; not upon my own account, for I cared not about the prosecution, but to have defended the principles I had advanced in the work.

The duty I am now engaged in is of too much importance to permit me to trouble myself about your prosecution: when I have leisure, I shall have no objection to meet you on that ground; but as I now stand, whether you go on with the prosecution, or whether you do not, or whether you obtain a verdict, or not, is a matter of the most perfect indifference to me as an individual. If you obtain one (which you are welcome to, if you can get it) it cannot affect me either in person, property, or reputation, otherwise than to increase the latter; and with respect to yourself, it is as consistent that you obtain a verdict against the man in the moon as against me: neither do I see how you can continue the prosecution against me as you would have done against one of *your own people* who had absented himself because he was prosecuted: what passed at Dover proves that my departure from England was no secret.

My necessary absence from your country now, in consequence of my duty here, affords the opportunity of knowing whether the prosecution was intended against Thomas Paine, or against the rights of the people of England to investigate systems and principles of Government; for as I cannot now be the object of the prosecution, the going on with the prosecution will shew that something else was the

object, and that something else can be no other than the people of England, for it is against *their rights*, and not against me, that a verdict or sentence can operate, if it can operate at all. Be then so candid as to tell the jury (if you choose to continue the process) whom it is you are prosecuting, and on whom it is that the verdict is to fall.

But I have other reasons than those I have mentioned for writing you this letter; and, however you may choose to interpret them, they proceed from a good heart. The time, Sir, is becoming too serious to play with Court prosecutions, and sport with National Rights. The terrible examples that have taken place here, upon men who less than a year ago thought themselves as secure as any prosecuting Judge, Jury, or Attorney-General, can now do in England, ought to have some weight with men in your situation. That the Government of England is as great, if not the greatest, perfection of fraud and corruption that ever took place since Governments began, is what you cannot be a stranger to, unless the constant habit of seeing it has blinded your senses; but though you may not choose to see it, the people are seeing it very fast, and the progress is beyond what you may choose to believe. Is it possible that you, or I, can believe, or that reason can make any other man believe, that the capacity of such a man as Mr. Guelph, or any of his profligate sons, is necessary to the Government of a nation. I speak to you as one man ought to speak to another; and I know also, that I speak what other people are beginning to think.

That you cannot obtain a verdict (and if you do, it will signify nothing) without packing a jury, (and we both know that such tricks are practised) is what I have very good reason to believe. I have gone into coffee-houses, and places where I was unknown, on purpose to learn the currency of opinion, and I never yet saw any company of twelve men that condemned the book; but I have often found a greater number than twelve approving it, and this I think is a fair way of collecting the natural currency of opinion. Do not then, Sir, be the instrument of drawing twelve men into a situation that may be injurious to them afterwards. I do not speak this from policy, but from benevolence; but if you choose to go on with the process, I make it my request to you that you will read this letter in Court, after which the Judge and the Jury may do as they please. As I do not consider myself the object of the prosecution, neither can I be affected by the issue, one way or

the other, I shall, though a foreigner in your country, subscribe as much money as any other man towards supporting the right of the nation against the prosecution ; and it is for this purpose only that I shall do it.

THOMAS PAINE.

As I have not time to copy letters, you will excuse the corrections.

P. S. I intended, had I staid in England, to have published the information, with my remarks upon it, before the trial came on ; but as I am otherwise engaged, I reserve myself till the trial is over, when I shall reply fully to every thing you shall advance.

ON THE PROPRIETY OF BRINGING LOUIS XVI. TO TRIAL.

CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

Paris, Nov. 20, 1792.

AS I do not know precisely what day the Convention will resume the discussion on the trial of Louis XVI. and, on account of my inability to express myself in French, I cannot speak at the tribune, I request permission to deposit in your hands the inclosed paper which contains my opinion on that subject. I adopt this step with so much more eagerness, because circumstances will prove to what a degree it interests France, that Louis XVI. should continue to enjoy good health. I should be happy if the Convention would have the goodness to hear this paper read this morning, as I purpose sending a copy of it to London, to be printed in the English Journals.

A Secretary read the opinion of Thomas Paine.

I THINK that Louis XVI. ought to be tried; not that this advice is suggested by a spirit of vengeance, but because this measure appears to me just, lawful, and conformable to sound policy. If Louis XVI. is innocent, let us put him to prove his innocence; if he is guilty, let the national will determine if he should be pardoned or punished; but besides the motives which personally interest Louis XVI. there are others which make his trial necessary. I am about to develop these motives, in the language which suits them, and no other. I forbid myself the use of equivocal expression or of mere ceremony. There was formed among the crowned ruffians of Europe a conspiracy, which threatened not only French liberty, but likewise that of all nations. Every thing tends to make it be believed, that Louis XVI. was the partner of that horde of conspirators. You have this man in your power, and he is at present the only one of the band of whom we can make sure. I consider Louis XVI. in the same point of view as the two first robbers taken up in the affair of the jewel office, their trial enabled you to discover the gang to which they belonged. We have seen the unhappy soldiers of Austria and Prussia, and the other powers which declared themselves our enemies, torn

from their fire-sides, and drawn to carnage as the vilest of animals, to sustain, at the price of their blood, the common cause of crowned robbers. They loaded the inhabitants of those regions with taxes to support the expences of the war. All this was not done solely for Louis XVI. Some of the conspirators have acted openly: but there is reason to presume, that this conspiracy is composed of two classes of robbers; those who have taken up arms, and those who have lent to their cause secret encouragement and clandestine assistance; and it is indispensable to let France and all Europe know all these accomplices.

A little time after the National Convention was constituted, the Minister for Foreign Affairs presented the picture of all the Governments of Europe, as well of those whose hostilities were public, as of those who acted with a mysterious circumspection. We have already penetrated into some part of the conduct of Mr. Guelph, Elector of Hanover, and violent presumptions affect the same man, his court and ministers, in quality of King of England.

M. Calonne has constantly been favoured with a friendly reception at that court. The arrival of Mr. Smith, secretary to Mr. Pitt, at Coblenz, when the emigrants were assembling there; the recal of the English ambassador; the extravagant joy manifested by the court of St. James's at the false report of the defeat of Dumourier, when it caused it to be communicated by Lord Elgin, then minister of Great Britain at Brussels—all these circumstances render him extremely suspicious; the trial of Louis XVI. will probably furnish more decisive proofs.

The long subsisting fear of a revolution in England, could, I believe, singly, prevent that court from manifesting as much publicity in its operations as Austria and Prussia. Another reason could be added to this; the consequential decrease of credit, by means of which alone all the ancient Governments could obtain fresh loans; for in proportion as the probability of a revolution increased, whoever should furnish towards the new loans must expect to lose his stock.

Every body knows that the Landgrave of Hesse fights only as far as he is paid: he has been for several years in the pay of the court of London. If the trial of Louis XVI. could bring it to light, that this detestable dealer in human flesh has been paid out of the produce of the taxes levied on the people of England, it would be but doing justice to that nation, to inform them of that fact; it would at the same time give to France an exact knowledge of the cha-

racter of that court, which has not ceased to be the most intriguing, ever since its connection with Germany.

Louis XVI. considered as an individual, is an object beneath the notice of the republic; but when he is looked upon as a part of that band of conspirators, as a criminal whose trial may lead all the nations in the world to a knowledge and detestation of the disastrous system of monarchy, and the plots and intrigues of their own courts, he ought to be, and must be tried.

If the crimes for which Louis XVI. is arraigned, were absolutely personal to him, without reference to general conspiracies, and confined to the affairs of France, the motives of inviolability, that folly of the moment, might have been urged in his behalf with some appearance of reason; but as he is arraigned not only on the part of France, but for having conspired against all Europe, we ought to use every means in our power to discover the whole extent of that conspiracy. France is now a republic: she has completed her revolution; but she cannot earn all the advantages arising from it, as long as she is environed with despotical Governments; their armies and marine oblige her likewise to keep troops and ships in readiness. It is, therefore, her immediate interest, that all nations be as free as herself; that revolutions be universal; and since Louis XVI. can serve to prove, by the flagitiousness of Government in general, the necessity of revolutions, she ought not to let slip so precious an opportunity.

The despots of Europe have formed alliances to preserve their respective authority, and to perpetuate the oppression of nations; this is the end which they proposed to themselves, in making an invasion on the French territory. They dread the effect of the French Revolution in the bosom of their own countries; and in hopes of preventing it, they are come to try to destroy that Revolution, before it should have attained its perfect maturity. Their attempt has not been attended with success: France has already vanquished their armies; but it is left to her to sound the particulars of the conspiracy, to discover, to expose to the eyes of the universe those despots who had the infamy to take part in it; and the universe expects of her that act of justice.

These are my motives for demanding that Louis XVI. be judged; and it is in this sole point of view, that his trial appears to me of sufficient importance to attract the attention of the republic.

As to what regards inviolability, I would not have such a

motive to be mentioned. Seeing no longer in Louis XVI. but a weak-minded and narrow-spirited individual, ill-bred, like all his colleagues, given, as it is said, to frequent excesses of drunkenness, and whom the National Assembly raised again imprudently on a throne which was not made for him, if we shew him hereafter some pity, it shall not be the result of the burlesque idea of a pretended inviolability.

THOMAS PAINE.

SPEECH IN THE NATIONAL CONVENTION ON THE QUESTION, "SHALL, OR SHALL NOT, A RESPITE OF THE SENTENCE OF LOUIS XVI. TAKE PLACE?"

I HAVE voted for the detention of Louis, and his banishment after the war, but I am much afraid that the speedy execution of the sentence of Louis will rather pass for a deed of vengeance than a measure of justice. I wish the Convention had voted as the nation would; I mean for imprisonment.

The United States of America have the utmost veneration for Louis, who gave them liberty. And I can pledge myself to you, that the sentence of Louis will overwhelm all the Americans with consternation. And remember, that it is they who will alone supply you with all the timber and naval stores you shall want in the maritime war you are about to declare. The north of Europe is ready to bring its forces against you. You mean to send an ambassador to Philadelphia; my sincere wish is, that he may announce to the Americans, that the National Convention of France, from pure friendship to America, has consented to respite the sentence of Louis.

Citizens, let not a neighbouring despot enjoy the satisfaction of seeing that man mount the scaffold who has broke the irons of the Americans.

REASONS FOR PRESERVING THE LIFE OF LOUIS CAPET, AS
DELIVERED TO THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

CITIZEN PRESIDENT,

Paris, Jan. 23, 1793.

MY hatred and abhorrence of monarchy are sufficiently known, they originate in principles of reason and conviction, nor except with life, can they ever be extirpated; but my compassion for the unfortunate, whether friend or enemy, is equally lively and sincere. I voted that Louis should be tried, because it was necessary to afford proofs to the world of the perfidy, corruption and abomination of the monarchical system. The infinity of evidence that has been produced, exposes them in the most glaring and hideous colours--thence it results, that monarchy, whatever form it may assume, arbitrary or otherwise, becomes necessarily a centre, round which is united every species of corruption, and the kingly trade is no less destructive of all morality in the human breast, than the trade of an executioner is destructive of its sensibility.

I remember during my residence in another country that I was exceedingly struck with a sentence of M. Autheine, at the Jacobins, which corresponds exactly with my own idea,—"Make me a king to-day," said he, "and I shall be a robber to-morrow."

Nevertheless, I am inclined to believe, that if Louis Capet had been born in an obscure condition, had he lived within the circle of an amiable and respectable neighbourhood, at liberty to practise the duties of domestic life, had he been thus situated, I cannot believe that he would have shewn himself destitute of social virtues: we are in a moment of fermentation like this, naturally little indulgent to his vices, or rather to those of monarchical governments; we regard them with additional horror and indignation, not that they are more heinous than his predecessors, but because our eyes are now open and the veil of delusion at length withdrawn; yet the lamentably degraded state to which he is actually reduced, is surely far less imputable to him, than to the Constituent Assembly, which of its own authority, without consent or advice of the people, restored him to the throne.

I was in Paris at the time of the flight or abdication of Louis XVI. and when he was taken and brought back. The proposal of restoring to him the supreme power struck me with amazement; and although at that time, I was not a French citizen, yet as a citizen of the world, I employed all the efforts that depended on me to prevent it.

A small society, composed only of five persons, two of whom are now members of the Convention, took at that time, the name of the Republican Club (*Societe Republicaine.*)

This society opposed the restoration of Louis, not so much on account of his personal offences, as in order to overthrow the monarchy, and to erect on its ruins the republican system and an equal representation.

With this design, I traced out in the English language certain propositions, which were translated with some trifling alterations, and signed by Achilles Duchatlet, actually lieutenant-general in the army of the French republic, and at that time one of the five members which composed our little party: the law requiring the signature of a citizen at the bottom of each printed paper.

The paper was indignantly torn by Malouet; and brought forth in this very room as an article of accusation against the person who had signed it, the author and their adherents; but such is the revolution of events, that this paper is now received and brought forth for a very opposite purpose:—to remind the nation of the errors of that unfortunate day, that fatal error of having not then banished Louis XVI. from its bosom, and not to plead this day in favour of his exile, preferably to his death.

The Paper in question was conceived in the following terms:

“ Brethren and Fellow Citizens,

“The serene tranquility, the mutual confidence which prevailed amongst us, during the time of the late king’s escape, the indifference with which we beheld him return, are unequivocal proofs that the absence of a king is more desirable than his presence, and that he is not only a political superfluity, but a grievous burden pressing hard on the whole nation.

“Let us not be imposed on by sophisms; all that concerns this, is reduced to four points.

“He has abdicated the throne in having fled from his post. Abdication and desertion are not characterized by the

length of absence, but by the single act of flight; in this instance, the act is every thing, and the time nothing. The nation can never give back its confidence to a man who, false to his trust, perjured to his oath, conspires a clandestine flight, obtains a fraudulent passport, conceals a King of France under the disguise of a valet, directs his course towards a frontier covered with traitors and deserters, and evidently meditates a return into our country, with a force capable of imposing his own despotic laws.

“ Whether ought his flight to be considered as his own act, or the act of those who fled with him? Was it a spontaneous resolution of his own, or was it inspired into him by others? The alternative is immaterial: whether fool or hypocrite, idiot or traitor, he has proved himself equally unworthy of the vast important functions that had been delegated to him

“ In every sense that the question can be considered, the reciprocal obligation which subsisted between us is dissolved. He holds no longer authority. We owe him no longer obedience. We see in him no more than an indifferent person; we can regard him only as Louis Capet.

“ The history of France presents little else than a long series of public calamity, which takes its source from the vices of the king: we have been the wretched victims that have never ceased to suffer, either for them or by them. The catalogue of their oppressions was complete, but to complete the sum of their crimes, treason yet was wanting. Now the only vacancy is filled up, the dreadful list is full: the system is exhausted: there are no remaining errors for them to commit, their reign is consequently at an end.

What kind of office must that be in a Government which requires neither experience nor ability to execute?—that may be abandoned to the desperate chance of birth, that may be filled with an idiot, a madman, a tyrant, with equal effect, as by the good, the virtuous, and the wise. An office of this nature is a mere non-entity; it is a place of show, not of use. Let France, then, arrived at the age of reason, no longer be deluded by the sound of words, and let her deliberately examine, if a king, however insignificant and contemptible in himself, may not at the same time be extremely dangerous.

The thirty millions which it costs to support a king in the *eclat* of stupid, brutal luxury, present us with an easy method of reducing taxes, which reduction would at once release the people, and stop the progress of political cor-

ruption. The grandeur of nations consists not, as kings pretend, in the splendour of thrones, but in a conspicuous sense of their own dignity, and in a just disdain of those barbarous follies and crimes, which under the sanction of royalty, have hitherto desolated Europe.

“As to the personal safety of M. Louis Capet, it is so much the more confirmed, as France will not stoop to degrade herself by a spirit of revenge, against a wretch who has dishonoured himself.

“In defending a just and glorious cause it is not possible to degrade it, and the universal tranquility which prevails, is an undeniable proof that a free people know how to respect themselves.”

Having thus explained the principles and the exertions of the republicans, at that fatal period when Louis was re-instated in full possession of the executive power, which by his flight had been suspended, I return to the subject, and to the deplorable situation in which the man is now actually involved.

What was neglected at the time of which I have been speaking, has been since brought about by the force of necessity; the wilful treacherous defects in the former constitution have been brought to light, the continual alarm of treason and conspiracy roused the nation, and produced eventually a second revolution. The people have beat down royalty, never, never to rise again; they have brought Louis Capet to the bar, and demonstrated, in the face of the whole world, the intrigues, the cabals, the falsehood, corruption, and rooted depravity, the inevitable effects of monarchical governments. There remains, then, only one question to be considered, what is to be done with this man.

For myself, I seriously confess, that when I reflect on the unaccountable folly that restored the executive power to his hands, all covered as he was with perjury and treason, I am far more ready to condemn the Constituent Assembly than the unfortunate prisoner Louis Capet.

But abstracted from every other consideration, there is one circumstance in his life which ought to cover, or at least to palliate, a great number of his transgressions; and this very circumstance affords the French nation a blessed occasion of extricating itself from the yoke of kings, without defiling itself in the impurities of their blood.

It is to France alone, I know, that the United States of America owe that support which enabled them to shake off

the unjust and tyrannical yoke of Britain. The ardour and zeal which she displayed to provide both men and money, were the natural consequences of a thirst for liberty. But as the nation at that time, restrained by the shackles of her own government, could only act by the means of a monarchical organ—this organ—whatever in other respects the object might be, certainly performed a good, a great action.

Let, then, these United States be the safeguard and asylum of Louis Capet. There, hereafter, far removed from the miseries and crimes of royalty, he may learn from the constant aspect of public prosperity, that the true system of government consists not in kings, but in a fair, equal, and honourable representation.

In relating this circumstance, and in submitting this proposition, I consider myself as a citizen of both countries. I submit it as a citizen of America, who feels the debt of gratitude which he owes to every Frenchman. I submit it also as a man, who, although the enemy of kings, cannot forget that they are subject to human frailties. I support my proposition as a citizen of the French Republic, because it appears to me the best, the most politic measure that can be adopted.

As far as my experience in public life extends, I have ever observed, that the great mass of the people are invariably just, both in their attentions and in their object: but the true method of accomplishing that effect, does not always shew itself in the first instance.

For example, the English nation had groaned under the despotism of the Stuarts. Hence Charles the First lost his life; yet Charles the Second was restored to all the plenitude of power which his father had lost.

Forty years had not expired, when the same family strove to re-establish their ancient oppressions; so the nation then banished from its territories the whole race. The remedy was effectual. The Stuart family sunk into obscurity, crowded itself with the multitude, and is at length extinct.

The French nation, more enlightened than England was at that time, has carried her measures of government to a greater length. France is not satisfied with exposing the guilt of the monarch, she has penetrated into the views and horrors of the monarchy. She has shewn them clear as day-light, and for ever crushed that infernal system; and he, whoever he may be, that should ever dare to reclaim those rights, would be regarded not as a pretender, but punished as a traitor.

Two brothers of Louis Capet have banished themselves from the country, but they are obliged to bear with the spirit and etiquette of the courts where they reside. They can advance no pretensions on their own account, so long as Louis Capet shall live,

The history of monarchy in France, was a system pregnant with crimes and murders, cancelling all natural ties, even those by which brothers are united. We know how often they have assassinated each other to pave a way to power. As those hopes which the emigrants had reposed in Louis XVI. are fled, the last which remains rests upon his death and their situation inclines them to desire this catastrophe, that they may once again rally round a more active chief, and try one further effort under the fortune of the *ci-devant* Monsieur and Count d'Artois.

That such an enterprize would precipitate them into a new abyss of calamity and disgrace, it is not difficult to foresee; but yet it might be attended with mutual loss, and it is our duty, as legislators, not to spill a drop of blood, when our purpose may be effectually accomplished without it.

It has already been proposed to abolish the punishment of death; and it is with infinite satisfaction, that I recollect the humane and excellent oration pronounced by Robespierre, on that subject in the Constituent Assembly. This cause must find its advocates in every corner where enlightened politicians and lovers of humanity exist; and it ought above all to find them in this assembly.

Monarchical Governments have trained the human race, and inured it to the sanguinary arts and refinements of punishment; and it is exactly the same punishment which has so long shocked the sight and tormented the patience of the people, that now, in their turn, they practise in revenge on their oppressors. But it becomes us to be strictly on our guard against the abomination and perversity of monarchical examples: as France has been the first of European nations to abolish royalty, let her also be the first to abolish the punishment of death, and to find out a milder and more effectual substitute.

In the particular case now under consideration, I submit the following propositions:—1st. That the National Convention shall pronounce sentence of banishment on Louis and his family. 2d. That Louis Capet shall be detained in prison till the end of the war; and at that epoch the sentence of banishment to be executed.

SPEECH ON THE CONSTITUTION.

*The Translation of which was read by Citizen LANTHERA,
in the Convention, July 7th, 1795.*

ON the motion of LAUTHENAS, "that permission be granted to THOMAS PAINE, to deliver his sentiments on the Declaration of Rights, and the Constitution."

THOMAS PAINE ascended the tribune, and no opposition being made to the motion, one of the Secretaries who stood by Mr. Paine read his speech, of which the following is a literal translation from "*La Gazette Nationale, ou Moniteur Universel.*"

Citizens, the effects of a malignant fever with which I was afflicted during a rigorous confinement in the *Luxembourg*, have thus long prevented me from attending at my post in the bosom of the Convention; and the magnitude of the subject under discussion, and no other consideration on earth, could induce me now to repair to my station.

A recurrence to the vicissitudes I have experienced, and the critical situations in which I have been placed in consequence of the French Revolution, will throw upon what I now propose to submit to the Convention, the most unequivocal proofs of my integrity, and the rectitude of those principles which have uniformly influenced my conduct.

In England I was proscribed for having vindicated the French Revolution, and I have suffered a rigorous imprisonment in France for having pursued a similar mode of conduct. During the reign of terrorism, I was a close prisoner for eight long months, and remained so above three months after the æra of the 10th Thermidor. I ought, however, to state, that I was not persecuted by the People, either of England or of France. The proceedings in both countries were the effects of the despotism existing in their respective Governments. But even if my persecution had originated in the people at large, my principles and conduct would still have remained the same. Principles which are influenced and subject to the controul of tyranny, have not their foundation in the heart.

A few days ago I transmitted to you, in the ordinary mode of distribution, a short treatise, entitled, "*A Dissertation, on the First Principles of Government.*" This little work I did intend to have dedicated to the people of Holland, (who, about the time I began to write it, were determined to accomplish a revolution in their Government,) rather than to the people of France, who had long before effected that glorious object. But there are, in the Constitution, which is about to be ratified by the Convention, certain articles, and in the report which preceded it, certain points, so repugnant to reason, and incompatible with the true principles of liberty, as to render this treatise, drawn up for another purpose, applicable to the present occasion, and under this impression I presume to submit it to your consideration.

If there be faults in the Constitution, it were better to expunge them now, than to abide the event of their mischievous tendency; for certain it is, that the plan of Constitution which has been presented to you, is not consistent with the grand object of the revolution, nor congenial to the sentiments of the individuals who accomplished it.

To deprive half the people in a nation of their rights as citizens, is an easy matter in theory or on paper; but it is a most dangerous experiment, and rarely practicable in the execution.

I shall now proceed to the observations I have to offer on this important subject, and pledge myself that they shall neither be numerous nor diffusive.

In my apprehension, a Constitution embraces two distinct parts or objects, the *principle* and the *practice*; and it is not only an essential, but an indispensable provision that the practice should emanate from, and accord with the principle. Now, I maintain, that the converse of this proposition is the case in the plan of Constitution under discussion. The first article, for instance, of the POLITICAL STATE of Citizens, (v. TITLE II. OF THE CONSTITUTION) says,

"Every man born and resident in France, who being twenty-one years of age, has inscribed his name on the civic register of his canton, and who has lived afterwards one year on the territory of the republic, and who pays any direct contribution whatsoever, real or personal, is a French citizen."

I might here ask, if those only who come under the above description are to be considered as citizens, what designation do you mean to give the rest of the people? I allude to

that portion of the people on whom the principal part of the labour falls, and on whom the weight of indirect taxation will, in the event, chiefly press. In the structure of the social fabric, this class of people are infinitely superior to that privileged order, whose only qualification is their wealth or territorial possessions. For what is trade without merchants? What is land without cultivation? And what is the produce of the land without manufactures? But to return to the subject.

In the first place, this article is incompatible with the three first articles of the Declaration of Rights, which precedes the Constitutional Act.

The first article of the Declaration of Rights, says:

The end of society is the public good, and the institution of Government is to secure to every individual the enjoyment of his rights.

But the article of the Constitution to which I have just adverted, proposes as the object of society, not the public good, or, in other words, the good of all, but a partial good, or the good only of a few; and the Constitution provides solely for the rights of this few to the exclusion of the many.

The second article of the Declaration of Rights, says:

“The rights of man in society are liberty, equality, security of his person and property.”

But the article alluded to in the Constitution, has a direct tendency to establish the converse of this position, inasmuch as the persons excluded by this *inequality*, can neither be said to possess liberty, nor security against oppression. They are consigned totally, to the caprice and tyranny of the rest.

The third article of the Declaration of Rights, says:

“Liberty consists in acts of volition as are not injurious to others.”

But the article of the Constitution on which I have observed, breaks down this barrier. It enables the liberty of one part of society to destroy the freedom of the other.

Having thus pointed out the inconsistency of this article to the Declaration of Rights, I shall proceed to comment on that part of the same article, which makes a direct contribution a necessary qualification to the right of citizenship.

A modern refinement on the object of public revenue, has divided the taxes, or contributions, into two classes, the *direct* and the *indirect*, without being able to define precisely or distinctly the difference between them, because the effect of both is the same.

Those are designated indirect taxes which fall upon the consumers of certain articles on which the tax is imposed, because the tax being included in the price, the customer pays it without taking notice of it.

The same observation is applicable to the territorial tax. The land proprietors, in order to reimburse themselves, will rack-rent their tenants. The farmer, of course, will transfer the obligation to the miller, by enhancing the price of grain; the miller to the baker, by increasing the price of flour; and the baker to the consumer, by raising the price of bread. The territorial tax, therefore, though called *direct*, is in its consequences *indirect*.

To this tax the land proprietor contributes only in proportion to the quantity of bread and other provisions that are consumed in his own family. The deficit is furnished by the great mass of the community which comprehends every individual of a nation.

From the logical distinction between direct and indirect taxation, some emolument may result, I allow, to auditors of public accounts, &c. &c. but to the people at large I deny, that such a distinction (which by the bye is without a difference) can be productive of any practical benefit. It ought not, therefore, to be admitted as a principle in the Constitution.

Besides this objection, the provision in question does not affect to define, secure, or establish the right of citizenship. It consigns to the caprice or discretion of the legislature the power of pronouncing, who shall, or shall not exercise the functions of a citizen; and this may be done effectually, either by the imposition of a *direct* or *indirect* tax, according to the selfish views of the legislators, or by the mode of collecting the taxes so imposed. Neither a tenant who occupies an extensive farm, nor a merchant or manufacturer, who may have embarked a large capital in their respective pursuits can ever, according to this system, attain the pre-emption of a citizen. On the other hand, any upstart, who has, by succession or management, got possession of a few acres of land, or a miserable tenement, may exultingly exercise the functions of a citizen, although perhaps he neither possesses a hundredth part of the worth or property of a simple mechanic, nor contributes in any proportion to the exigencies of the state.

The contempt in which the old Government held mercantile pursuits, and the obloquy that attached on merchants and manufacturers, contributed not a little to its embarrass-

ments, and its eventual subversion : and, strange to tell, though the mischiefs arising from this mode of conduct are so obvious, yet an article is proposed for your adoption, which has a manifest tendency to restore a defect, inherent in the monarchy.

I shall now proceed to the second article of the same title, with which I shall conclude my remarks.

The second article says, "every French soldier who shall have served one or more campaigns in the cause of liberty, is deemed a citizen of the Republic, without any respect or reference to other qualifications."

It should seem that in this article, the committee were desirous of extricating themselves from a dilemma into which they had been plunged by the preceding article. When men depart from an established principle, they are compelled to resort to trick and subterfuge, always shifting their means to preserve the unity of their objects; and as it rarely happens that the first expedients make amends for the prostitution of principle, they must call in aid a second of a more flagrant nature to supply the deficiency of the former. In this manner, legislators go on, accumulating error upon error, and artifice upon artifice, until the mass becomes so bulky and incongruous, and their embarrassment so desperate, that they are compelled, as their last expedient, to resort to the very principle they had violated. The committee were precisely in this predicament, when they framed this article, and to me, I must confess, their conduct appears specious rather than efficacious.

It was not for himself alone, but for his family, that the French citizen, at the dawn of the Revolution, (for then, indeed, every man was considered a citizen) marched soldier-like to the frontiers, and repelled a foreign invasion. He had it not in his contemplation, that he should enjoy liberty for the residue of his earthly career, and by his own act preclude his offspring from that inestimable blessing. No, —he wished to leave it as an inheritance to his children, and that they might hand it down to their latest posterity. If a Frenchman, who united in his person the character of a soldier and a citizen was now to return from the army to his peaceful habitation, he must address his small family in this manner: "Sorry I am that I cannot leave to you a small portion of what I have acquired by exposing my person to the ferocity of our enemies, and defeating their machinations. I have established the Republic, and, painful the reflection, all the laurels I have won in the field are blasted,

and all the privileges to which my exertions have entitled me, extend not beyond the period of my own existence!" Thus the measure that has been adopted by way of subterfuge, falls short of what the framers of it speculated upon; for in conciliating the affections of the *Soldier*, they have subjected the *Father* to the most pungent sensations, by obliging him to adopt a generation of slaves.

Citizens, a great deal has been urged respecting insurrections. I am confident no man has a greater abhorrence of them than myself, and I am sorry that any insinuations should have been thrown out upon me as a promoter of violence of any kind. The whole tenour of my life and conversation gives the lie to those calumnies, and proves me to be a friend to order, truth and justice.

I hope you will attribute this effusion of my sentiments, to my anxiety for the honour and success of the Revolution. I have no interest distinct from that which has a tendency to meliorate the situation of mankind. The Revolution, as far as it respects myself, has been productive of more loss and persecution than is possible for me to describe, or for you to indemnify. But with respect to the subject under consideration, I could not refrain from declaring my sentiments. In my opinion, if you subvert the basis of the Revolution, if you dispense with principles and substitute expedients, you will extinguish that enthusiasm and energy which have hitherto been the life and soul of the Revolution; and you will substitute in its place nothing but a cold indifference and self-interest, which will again degenerate into intrigue, cunning, and effeminacy.

But to discard all considerations of a personal and subordinate nature, it is essential to the well-being of the Republic, that the practical or organic part of the Constitution should correspond with its principles; and as this does not appear to be the case in the plan that has been presented to you, it is absolutely necessary that it should be submitted to the revision of a committee, who should be instructed to compare it with the declaration of rights, in order to ascertain the difference between the two, and to make such alterations as shall render them perfectly consistent and compatible with each other.

TO THE PEOPLE OF FRANCE AND THE FRENCH ARMIES ON
THE EVENT OF THE 13TH FRUCTIDOR, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

[*The Publisher regrets that he has not been able to obtain a perfect copy of this Letter; the following is taken from the Courier of November 30, 1797, the Editor of which observes, "Whilst some of the hireling English Journals were informing us of Mr. Paine's arrival in America, and giving an account of the reception he met with from the inhabitants of that country, which we were told by these propagators of falsehood was a very cool one—it appears that this 'too long calumniated'* character was employing himself at Paris in writing a pamphlet under the above title. The following extract will afford our readers a good specimen of the manner in which this very interesting work is written."*]

ALMOST as suddenly as the morning light dissipates darkness, did the establishment of the Constitution change the face of affairs in France. Security succeeded to terror, prosperity to distress, plenty to famine; and confidence increased as the days multiplied, until the coming of the *New Third*. A series of victories unequalled in the world, followed each other, almost too rapidly to be counted, and too numerous to be remembered. The coalition every where defeated and confounded, crumbled away like a ball of dust in the hand of a giant. Every thing during that period was acted on such a mighty scale, that reality appeared a dream, and truth outstripped romance. It may figuratively be said, that the Rhine and the Rubicon (Germany and Italy) replied in triumphs to each other, and the echoing Alps prolonged the shout. I will not here dishonour a great description by noticing too much the English Ministry. It is

* See Sir Francis Burdett's speech at the Shakspeare Tavern.

sufficient paradoxically to say, that in the magnitude of its littleness, it cringed, it intrigued, and sought protection in corruption.

Though the achievements of these days might give trophies to a nation, and laurels to its heroes, they derive their full radiance of glory from the principle they inspired and the object they accomplished. Desolation, chains, and slavery, had marked the progress of former wars; but to conquer for liberty had never been thought of. To receive the degrading submission of a distressed and subjugated people, and insultingly permit them to live, made the chief triumph of former conquerors; but to receive them with fraternity, to break their chains, to tell them they are free, and teach them to be so, make a new volume in the history of man.

Amidst those national honours, and when only two enemies remain, both of whom had solicited peace, and one of them had signed preliminaries, the election of the New Third commenced. Every thing was made easy to them. All the difficulties had been conquered before they arrived at the Government. They came in the olive days of the Revolution, and all they had to do was not to do mischief.

It was, however, not difficult to foresee that the elections would not be generally good. The horrid days of Robespierre were still remembered; and the gratitude due to those who had put an end to them was forgotten. Thousands who, by passive approbation during that tremendous scene, had experienced no suffering, assumed the merits of being the loudest against it. Their cowardice in not opposing it, became courage when it was over. They exclaimed against terrorism as if they had been the heroes that overthrew it, and rendered themselves ridiculous by fantastically over-acting moderation. The most noisy of this class that I have met with are those who suffered nothing. They became all things, at all times, to all men, till at last they laughed at principle. It was the real Republicans who suffered most during the time of Robespierre. The persecution began upon them on the 31st of May, and ceased only by the exertions of the remnant that survived.

In such a confused state of things as preceded the late elections, the public mind was put into a condition of being easily deceived, and it was almost natural that the hypocrite would stand the best chance of being elected into the New Third. Had those who since their election have thrown the public affairs into confusion by counter-revolu-

tionary measures, declared themselves beforehand, they would have been denounced instead of being chosen. Deception was necessary to their success. The Constitution had obtained a full establishment; the Revolution was considered as complete; and the war on the eve of termination. In such a situation, the mass of the people, fatigued by a long revolution, sought repose; and in their elections they looked out for quiet men. They unfortunately found hypocrites. Would any of the primary assemblies have voted for a civil war? Certainly they would not. But the electoral assemblies of some departments have chosen men, whose measures, since their election, tended to no other end but to provoke it. Either those electors have deceived their constituents of the primary assemblies, or have been themselves deceived in the choice they have made of deputies.

That there were some direct but secret conspirators in the New Third, can scarcely admit of a doubt; but it is most reasonable to suppose a great part was seduced by the vanity of thinking they could do better than those had done whom they succeeded. Instead of trusting to experience, they attempted experiments. This counter-disposition prepared them to fall in with any measures contrary to former measures, and that without seeing, and probably without suspecting, the end to which they led.

No sooner were the members of the New Third arrived at the seat of Government, than expectation was excited to see how they would act. Their motions were watched by all parties; and it was impossible for them to steal a march unobserved. They had it in their power to do great good, or great mischief. A firm and manly conduct on their part, uniting with that of the Directory and their colleagues, would have terminated the war. But the moment before them was not the moment of hesitation. He that hesitated in such a situation is lost.

The first public act of the Council of Five Hundred was the election of PICHEGRU to the Presidency of that Council. He arrived at it by a very large majority, and the public voice was in its favour. I, among the rest, was one who rejoiced at it. But if the defection of PICHEGRU was at that time known to CONDE and consequently to PITT, it unveils the cause that retarded all negotiations for peace. They interpreted that election into a signal of a counter-revolution and were waiting for it; and they mistook the respect shewn to PICHEGRU, founded on the supposition of his integrity, as a symptom of national revolt. Judging of things

by their own foolish ideas of Government, they ascribed appearances to causes, between which there was no connection. Every thing on their part has been a comedy of errors, and the actors have been chased from the stage.

Two or three decades of the new sessions passed away without any thing very material taking place; but matters soon began to explain themselves. The first thing that struck the public mind was, that no more was heard of negotiations for peace, and that public business stood still. It was not the object of the conspirators that there should be peace; but as it was necessary to conceal that object, the constitution was ransacked to find pretences for delays. In vain did the Directory expose to them the state of the finances and the wants of the army. The committee charged with that business, trifled away its time by a series of unproductive reports, and continued to sit only to produce more. Every thing necessary to be done was neglected, and every thing improper was attempted. PICHEGRU occupied himself about forming a national guard for the councils—the suspicious signal of war. Camille Jordan, about priests and bells, and the emigrants with whom he had associated during the two years he was in England. WILLOTT and DELARUE attacked the Directory: their object was to displace some one of the Directors, to get in another of their own. Their motions with respect to the age of BARRAS (who is as old as he wishes to be, and has been a little too old for them) was too obvious not to be seen through.

In this suspensive state of things, the public mind, filled with apprehensions, became agitated, and without knowing what it might be, looked for some extraordinary event. It saw, for it could not avoid seeing, that things could not remain long in the state they were in; but it dreaded a convulsion. That spirit of triflingness which it had indulged too freely when in a state of security, and which it is probable the new agents had interpreted into indifference about the success of the Republic, assumed a serious aspect that afforded to conspiracy no hope of aid; but still it went on. It plunged itself into new measures with the same ill success; and the further it went, the further the public mind retired. The conspiracy saw nothing around it to give it encouragement.

The obstinacy, however, with which it persevered in its repeated attacks upon the Directory, in framing laws in favour of emigrants and refractory priests, and in every thing

inconsistent with the immediate safety of the Republic, and which served to encourage the enemy to prolong the war, admitted of no other direct interpretation, than that something was rotten in the Council of Five Hundred. The evidence of circumstances became every day too visible not to be seen, and too strong to be explained away. Even as errors (to say no worse of them) they are not entitled to apology; for where knowledge is a duty, ignorance is a crime.

The more serious Republicans, who had better opportunities than the generality had of knowing the state of politics, began to take the alarm, and formed themselves into a society by the name of the Constitutional Circle. It is the only society of which I have been a member in France; and I went to this because it was become necessary that the friends of the Republic should rally round the standard of the Constitution. I met there several of the original patriots of the Revolution; I do not mean of the last order of Jacobins, but of the first of that name. The faction in the Council of Five Hundred, who, finding no countenance from the public, began to be frightened at appearances, fortified itself against the dread of this society, by passing a law to dissolve it. The constitutionality of the law was at least doubtful; but the society, that it might not give the example of exasperating matters already too much inflamed, suspended its meetings.

A matter, however, of much greater moment, soon after presented itself. It was the march of four regiments; some of whom, in the line of their route, had to pass within about twelve leagues of Paris, which is the boundary the Constitution had fixed as the distance of the armed force from the Legislative Body. In another state of things, such a circumstance would not have been noticed; but conspiracy is quick of suspicion; and the fear which the faction in the Council of Five Hundred manifested upon this occasion, could not have suggested itself to innocent men; neither would innocent men have expostulated with the Directory upon the case, in the manner these men did. The questions they urged went to extort from the Directory, and to make known to the enemy, what the destination of the troops was. The leaders of the faction conceived that the troops were marching against them, and the conduct they adopted in consequence of it, was sufficient to justify the measure, even if it had been so. From what other motive than the consciousness of their own designs could they have

fear? The troops, in every instance, had been the gallant defenders of the Republic, and the openly declared friends of the Constitution; the Directory had been the same; and if the faction were not of a different description, neither fear nor suspicion could have had place among them.

All those manœuvres in the Council were acted under the most professional attachment to the Constitution, and this as necessarily served to enfeeble their projects. It is exceedingly difficult, and next to impossible, to conduct a conspiracy, and still more to give it success, in a popular government. The disguised and feigned pretences which men in such cases are obliged to act in the face of the public, suppress the action of the faculties, and give even to natural courage the features of timidity. They are not half the men they would be where no disguise is necessary. It is impossible to be a hypocrite and to be brave at the same instant.

The faction, by the imprudence of its measures upon the march of the troops, and upon the declarations of the officers and soldiers to support the Republic and Constitution against all open or concealed attempts to overturn them, had gotten itself involved with the army, and, in effect, declared itself a party against it. On the one hand, laws were proposed to admit emigrants and refractory priests as free citizens; and on the other hand, to exclude the military from Paris, and punish the soldiers who had declared to support the Republic. In the mean time all negociation for peace went backward; and the enemy, still recruiting its forces, rested to take advantage of circumstances. Excepting the cessation of hostilities, it was a state worse than war.

If all this was not a conspiracy, it had at least the features of one, and was pregnant with the same mischiefs. The eyes of the faction could not avoid being open to the dangers to which it obstinately exposed the Republic, yet still it persisted. During this scene, the Journals devoted to the faction were repeatedly announcing the near approach of peace with Austria and with England, and often asserting it was concluded. This falsehood could be intended for no other purpose than to keep the eyes of the people shut against the dangers to which they were exposed.

Taking all circumstances together, it was impossible that such a state of things could continue long; and at length it was resolved to bring it to an issue. There is good reason to believe that the affair of the 18th Fructidor (Sept. 4th) was intended to have had place two days before; but on recollecting it was the 2d of September, a day mournful in

the annals of the Revolution, it was postponed. When the issue arrived, the faction found to its cost it had no party among the public. It had sought its own disasters, and was left to suffer the consequences. Foreign enemies, as well as those of the interior, if any such there be, ought to see, in the event of this day, that all expectation of aid from any part of the public, in support of a counter-revolution, is delusion. In a state of security, the thoughtless, who trembled at terror, may laugh at principles of liberty (for they have laughed); but it is one thing to indulge a foolish laugh, it is quite another thing to surrender liberty.

Considering the event of the 18th Fructidor in a political light, it is one of those that is justifiable only on the supreme law of absolute necessity, and it is the necessity abstracted from the event, that is to be deplored. The event itself is a matter of joy. Whether the manœuvres in the Council of Five Hundred were the conspiracy of a few, aided by the perverseness of many, or whether it had a deeper root, the dangers were the same. It was impossible to go on. Every thing was at stake, and all national business was at a stand. The case reduced itself to a simple alternative:—Shall the Republic be destroyed by the darksome manœuvres of a faction, or shall it be preserved by an extraneous act?

During the American Revolution, and that after the State Constitutions were established, particular cases arose that rendered it necessary to act in a manner that would have been treasonable in a state of peace. At one time Congress invested General WASHINGTON with dictatorial power. At another time, the Government of Pennsylvania suspended itself, and declared martial law. It was the necessity of the times only that made the apology of those extraneous measures. But who was it that produced the necessity of an extraneous measure in France? A faction, and that in the face of prosperity and success. Its conduct is without apology, and it is on the faction only that the extraneous measure has fallen. The public has suffered no inconvenience. If there are some men more disposed than others not to act severely, I have a right to place myself in that class; the whole of my political life invariably proves it; yet I cannot see, taking all parts of the case together, what else, or what better, could have been done, than has been done. It was a great stroke, applied in a great crisis, that crushed in an instant, and without the loss of a life, all the hopes of the enemy, and restored tranquillity to the interior.

The event was ushered in by the discharge of two cannon

at four in the morning, and was the only noise that was heard throughout the day. It naturally excited a movement among the Parisians to inquire the cause. They soon learned it; and the countenance they carried was easy to be interpreted. It was that of a people who, for some time past, had been oppressed with apprehensions of some direful event, and who felt themselves suddenly relieved by finding what it was. Every one went about his business, or followed his curiosity in quietude. It resembled the cheerful tranquility of the day when Louis XVI. absconded in 1791; and, like that day, it served to open the eyes of the nation."

TO THE COUNCIL OF FIVE HUNDRED.

CITIZENS REPRESENTATIVES,

THOUGH it is not convenient to me, in the present situation of my affairs, to subscribe to the loan towards the descent upon England, my economy permits me to make a small patriotic donation. I send an hundred livres, and with it all the wishes of my heart for the success of the descent, and a voluntary offer of any service I can render to promote it.

There will be no lasting peace for France, nor for the world, until the tyranny and corruption of the English Government be abolished, and England, like Italy, become a sister Republic. As to those men, whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland, who, like Robespierre in France, are covered with crimes, they, like him, have no other resource than in committing more; but the mass of the people are friends to liberty; tyranny and taxation oppress them, but they merit to be free.

Accept, Citizens Representatives, the congratulations of an ancient colleague in the dangers we have passed, and on the happy prospect before us.

Safety and respect,

THOMAS PAINE.

TO FORGETFULNESS.

FROM 'THE CASTLE IN THE AIR,' TO 'THE LITTLE CORNER
OF THE WORLD.'

MEMORY, like a beauty that is always present to hear herself flattered, is flattered by every one. But the absent and silent goddess, Forgetfulness, has no votaries, and is never thought of: yet we owe her much. She is the goddess of ease, though not of pleasure.

When the mind is like a room hung with black, and every corner of it crowded with the most horrid images imagination can create, this kind speechless goddess of a maid, Forgetfulness, is following us night and day with her opium wand, and gently touching first one, and then another, benumbs them into rest, and at last glides them away with the silence of a departing shadow. It is thus the tortured mind is restored to the calm condition of ease and fitted for happiness.

How dismal must the picture of life appear to the mind in that dreadful moment, when it resolves on darkness, and to die! One can scarcely believe such a choice was possible. Yet how many of the young and beautiful, timid in every thing else, and formed for delight, have shut their eyes upon the world, and made the waters their sepulchral bed! Ah! would they in that crisis, when life and death are both before them, and each within their reach, would they but think, or try to think, that Forgetfulness will come to their relief, and lull them into ease, they could stay their hand, and lay hold of life. But there is a necromancy in wretchedness that entombs the mind, and increases the misery, by shutting out every ray of light and hope. It makes the wretched falsely believe they will be wretched ever. It is the most fatal of all dangerous delusions; and it is only when this necromantic night-mare of the mind begins to vanish, by being resisted, that it is discovered to be but a tyrannic spectre. All grief, like all things else, will yield to the obliterating power of time. While despair is preying on the mind, time and its effects are preying on despair; and certain it is, the dismal vision will fade away, and Forget-

fulness, with her sister Ease, will change the scene. Then let not the wretched be rash, but wait, painful as the struggle may be, the arrival of Forgetfulness; for it will certainly arrive.

I have twice been present at the scene of attempted suicide. The one a love-distracted girl in England, the other of a patriotic friend in France; and as the circumstances of each are strongly pictured in my memory, I will relate them to you. They will in some measure corroborate what I have said of Forgetfulness.

About the year 1766, I was in Lincolnshire, in England, and on a visit at the house of a widow lady, Mrs. E——, at a small village in the fens of that county. It was in summer; and one evening after supper, Mrs E—— and myself went to take a turn in the garden. It was about eleven o'clock, and to avoid the night air of the fens, we were walking in a bower, shaded over with hazel-bushes. On a sudden, she screamed out, and cried "Lord! look, look!" I cast my eyes through the openings of the hazel-bushes, in the direction she was looking, and saw a white shapeless figure, without head or arms, moving along one of the walks at some distance from us. I quitted Mrs. E——, and went after it. When I got into the walk where the figure was, and was following it, it took up another walk. There was a holly bush in the corner of the two walks, which, it being night, I did not observe; and as I continued to step forward, the holly-bush came in a straight line between me and the figure, and I lost sight of it; and as I passed along one walk, and the figure the other, the holly bush still continued to intercept the view, so as to give the appearance that the figure had vanished. When I came to the corner of the two walks, I caught sight of it again, and coming up with it, I reached out my hand to touch it; and in the act of doing this the idea struck me, will my hand pass through the air, or shall I feel any thing? Less than a moment would decide this, and my hand rested on the shoulder of a human figure. I spoke, but do not recollect what I said. It answered in a low voice, "Pray let me alone." I then knew who it was. It was a young lady who was on a visit to Mrs. E——, and who, when we sat down to supper, said she found herself extremely ill, and would go to bed. I called to Mrs. E——, who came, and I said to her, "It is Miss N——." Mrs. E—— said, "My God! I hope you are not going to do yourself any hurt;" for Mrs. E—— suspected something. She replied with pathetic melancholy, "Life

has not one pleasure for me." We got her into the house, and Mrs. E—— took her to sleep with her.

The case was, the man whom she expected to be married to, had forsaken her, and when she heard he was to be married to another, the shock appeared to her to be too great to be borne. She had retired, as I have said, to her room, and when she supposed all the family were gone to bed, (which would have been the case, if Mrs. E—— and I had not walked into the garden) she undressed herself, and tied her apron over her head; which descending below her waist gave her the shapeless figure I have spoken of.

Aided by the obscurity of almost midnight, and with this and a white under-petticoat and slippers, for she had taken out her buckles, and put them at the servant-maid's door, I suppose as a keep-sake, she came down stairs, and was going to drown herself in a pond at the bottom of the garden, towards which she was going when Mrs. E—— screamed out. We found afterwards, that she had heard the scream, and that was the cause of her changing her walk.

By gentle usage, and leading her into subjects that might, without doing violence to her feelings, and without letting her see the direct intention of it, steal her as it were from the horror she was in, (and I felt a compassionate, earnest disposition to do it, for she was a good girl) she recovered her former cheerfulness, and was afterwards the happy wife, and the mother of a family.

The other case and the conclusion in my next.

In Paris, in 1793, I had lodgings in the Rue Fauxbourg, St. Denis, No. 63. They were the most agreeable for situation of any I ever had in Paris, except that they were too remote from the Convention, of which I was then a member. But this was recompensed by their being also remote from the alarms and confusion into which the interior of Paris was then often thrown. The news of those things used to arrive to us, as if we were in a state of tranquillity in the country. The house, which was enclosed by a wall and gateway from the street, was a good deal like an old mansion farm-house, and the court-yard was like a farm-yard stocked with fowls, ducks, turkies, and geese; which for amusement we used to feed out of the parlour window on the ground floor. There were some hutches for rabbits, and a sty with two pigs. Beyond, was a garden of more than an acre of ground, well laid out, and stocked with excellent fruit trees. The orange, apricot, and green-gage plum, were the best I ever tasted;

and it is the only place where I saw the wild cucumber. The place had formerly been occupied by some curious person.

My apartments consisted of three rooms; the first, for wood, water, &c. with an old fashioned closet chest, high enough to hang up clothes in; the next was the bed-room; and beyond it the sitting room, which looked into the garden through a glass door; and on the outside there was a small landing place railed in, and a flight of narrow stairs almost hidden by the vines that grew over it, by which I could descend into the garden, without going down stairs through the house. I am trying by description to make you see the place in your mind, because it will assist the story I have to tell; and which I think you can do, because you once called upon me there on account of Sir ——, who was then, as I was soon afterwards, in arrestation. But it was winter when you came, and it is a summer scene I am describing.

* * * *

I went into my chamber to write and sign a certificate for them,* which I intended to take to the guard-house to obtain their release. Just as I had finished it a man came into my room dressed in the Parisian uniform of a captain, and spoke to me in good English, and with a good address. He told me that two young men, Englishmen, were arrested and detained in the guard-house, and that the section, (meaning those who represented and acted for the section) had sent him to ask me if I knew them, in which case they would be liberated. This matter being soon settled between us, he talked to me about the Revolution, and something about the 'Rights of Man' which he had read in English; and at parting offered me in a polite and civil manner his services. And who do you think the man was that offered me his services? It was no other than the public executioner Samson, who guillotined the king and all who were guillotined in Paris; and who lived in the same section and in the same street with me.

* * * *

As to myself, I used to find some relief by walking alone in the garden after dark, and cursing with hearty good-will the authors of that terrible system that had turned the character of the Revolution I had been proud to defend.

* Mr. Paine here alludes to two friends who were under arrest. ED.

I went but little to the Convention, and then only to make my appearance; because I found it impossible to join in their tremendous decrees, and useless and dangerous to oppose them. My having voted and spoken extensively, more so than any other member, against the execution of the king, had already fixed a mark upon me: neither dared any of my associates in the Convention to translate and speak in French for me any thing I might have dared to have written.

* * * *

Pen and ink were then of no use to me: no good could be done by writing, and no printer dared to print; and whatever I might have written for my private amusement, as anecdotes of the times, would have been continually exposed to be examined, and tortured into any meaning that the rage of party might fix upon it; and as to softer subjects, my heart was in distress at the fate of my friends, and my harp was hung upon the weeping willows.

As it was summer we spent most of our time in the garden, and passed it away in those childish amusements that serve to keep reflection from the mind, such as marbles, scotch-hops, battledores, &c. at which we were all pretty expert.

In this retired manner we remained about six or seven weeks, and our landlord went every evening into the city to bring us the news of the day, and the evening journal.

I have now, my 'Little Corner of the World,' led you on, step by step, to the scene that makes the sequel of this narrative, and I will put that scene before your eyes. You shall see it in description as I saw it in fact.*

* * * *

He recovered, and being anxious to get out of France, a passport was obtained for him and Mr. Choppin: they received it late in the evening, and set off next morning for Basle before four, from which place I had a letter from them, highly pleased with their escape from France, into which they had entered with an enthusiasm of patriotic devotion. Ah, France! thou hast ruined the character of a Revolution virtuously begun, and destroyed those who produced it. I might almost say like Job's servant, 'and I only am escaped.'

* The second instance of attempted suicide is omitted from motives of personal delicacy. Mr. Paine's letter is continued, as it contains an account of his mode of life before he was sent to prison, &c.—ED.

Two days after they were gone I heard a rapping at the gate, and looking out of the window of the bed-room I saw the landlord going with the candle to the gate, which he opened, and a guard with musquets and fixed bayonets entered. I went to bed again, and made up my mind for prison, for I was then the only lodger. It was a guard to take up ———, but, I thank God, they were out of their reach.

The guard came about a month after in the night, and took away the landlord, Georgeit; and the scene in the house finished with the arrestation of myself. This was soon after you called on me, and sorry I was it was not in my power to render to ——— the service that you asked.

I have now fulfilled my engagement, and I hope your expectation, in relating the case of ———, landed back on the shore of life, by the mistake of the pilot, who was conducting him out; and preserved afterwards from prison, perhaps a worse fate, without knowing it himself.

You say a story cannot be too melancholy for you. This is interesting and affecting, but not melancholy. It may raise in your mind a sympathetic sentiment in reading it; and though it may start a tear of pity, you will not have a tear of sorrow to drop on the page.

* * * *

Here, my contemplative correspondent, let us stop and look back upon the scene. The matters here related being all facts, are strongly pictured in my mind, and in this sense, Forgetfulness does not apply. But facts and feelings are distinct things, and it is against feelings that the opium wand of Forgetfulness draws us into ease. Look back on any scene or subject that once gave you distress, for all of us have felt some, and you will find, that though the remembrance of the fact is not extinct in your memory, the feeling is extinct in your mind. You can remember when you had felt distress, but you cannot feel that distress again, and perhaps will wonder you felt it then. It is like a shadow that loses itself by light.

It is often difficult to know what is a misfortune: that which we feel as a great one to-day, may be the means of turning aside our steps into some new path that leads to happiness yet unknown. In tracing the scenes of my own life, I can discover that the condition I now enjoy, which is sweet to me, and will be more so when I get to America, except by the loss of your society, has been produced, in the first instance, in my being disappointed in former pro-

jects. Under that impenetrable veil, Futurity, we know not what is concealed, and the day to arrive is hidden from us. Turning then our thoughts to those cases of despair that lead to suicide, when, 'the mind' as you say, 'neither sees nor hears, and holds council only with itself; when the very idea of consolation would add to the torture, and self-destruction is its only aim,' what it may be asked, is the best advice, what the best relief? I answer, seek it not in reason, for the mind is at war with reason, and to reason against feelings is as vain as to reason against fire: it serves only to torture the torture, by adding reproach to horror. All reasoning with ourselves in such cases acts upon us like the reason of another person, which, however kindly done, serves but to insult the misery we suffer. If Reason could remove the pain, Reason would have prevented it. If she could not do the one, how is she to perform the other? In all such cases we must look upon Reason as dispossessed of her empire, by a revolt of the mind. She retires herself to a distance to weep, and the ebony sceptre of Despair rules alone. All that Reason can do is to suggest, to hint a thought, to signify a wish, to cast now and then a kind of bewailing look, to hold up, when she can catch the eye, the miniature shaded portrait of Hope; and though dethroned, and can dictate no more, to wait upon us in the humble station of a hand-maid.

TO THOMAS CLEO RICKMAN.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

New York, March 8, 1803.

MR. MONROE, who is appointed Minister Extraordinary to France, takes charge of this, to be delivered to Mr. Este, banker, in Paris, to be forwarded to you.

I arrived at Baltimore on the 30th October, and you can have no idea of the agitation which my arrival occasioned. From New Hampshire, to Georgia, (an extent of 1500 miles) every newspaper was filled with applause, or abuse.

My property in this country has been taken care of by my friends, and is now worth six thousand pounds sterling, which put in the funds will bring me four hundred pounds sterling a year.

Remember me in friendship and affection to your wife and family, and in the circle of our friends.

I am but just arrived here, and the minister sails in a few hours, so that I have but just time to write you this. If he should not sail this tide, I will write to my good friend Colonel Bosville, but in any case, I request you to wait on him for me.

Yours, in friendship,

THOMAS PAINE.

OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF IRON BRIDGES.

As bridges, and the method of constructing them, are becoming objects of great importance throughout the United States, and as there are at this time proposals for a bridge over the Delaware, and also a bridge beginning to be erected over the Schuylkill at Philadelphia, I present the public with some account of the construction of iron bridges.

The following memoir on that subject, written last winter at the Federal City, was intended to be presented to Congress. But as the session would necessarily be short, and as several of its members would be replaced by new elections on the ensuing session, it was judged better to let it lie over. In the mean time, on account of the bridges now in contemplation, or began, I give the memoir the opportunity of appearing before the public and the persons concerned in those works.

THOMAS PAINE.

Bordentown on the Delaware,
New-Jersey, June 13, 1803.

To the Congress of the United States.

I HAVE deposited in the office of the Secretary of State, and under the care of the patent office, two models of iron bridges; the one in pasteboard, the other cast in metal. As they will shew by inspection the manner of constructing iron bridges, I shall not take up the time of Congress with a description by words.

My intention in presenting this memoir to Congress is to put the country in possession of the means and of the right of making use of the construction freely; as I do not intend to take any patent right for it.

As America abounds in rivers that interrupt the land communication, and as by the violence of floods, and the breaking up of the ice in the spring, the bridges, depending for support from the bottom of the river, are frequently carried away, I turned my attention, after the revolutionary war was over, to find a method of constructing an arch, that might, without rendering the height inconvenient, or the ascent diffi-

cult, extend at once from shore to shore, over rivers of three, four, or five hundred feet, and probably more.

The principle I took to begin with, and work upon, was that the small segment of a large circle was preferable to the great segment of a small circle. The appearance of such arches, and the manner of forming and putting the parts together admit of many varieties; but the principle will be the same in all. The architects I conversed with in England denied the principle, but it was generally supported by mathematicians, and experiment has now established the fact.

In 1786 I made three models, partly at Philadelphia, but mostly at Bordentown in the State of Jersey. One model was in wood, one in cast iron, and one in wrought iron connected with blocks of wood, representing cast iron blocks, but on the same principle as that of the small segment of a large circle.

I took the last mentioned one with me to France in 1787, and presented it to the Academy of Sciences at Paris, for their opinion of it. The Academy appointed a committee of three of their own body—Mons. Le Roy, the Abbe Bossou, and Mons. Borde. The first was an acquaintance of Dr. Franklin, and of Mr. Jefferson, then minister at Paris. The two others were celebrated as mathematicians. I presented it as a model for a bridge of a single arch of four hundred feet span over the river Schuylkill at Philadelphia. The committee brought in a report which the Academy adopted—that an arch on the principle and construction of the model, might, in their opinion, be extended four hundred feet, the extent proposed.

In September of the same year, I sent the model to Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society in England, and soon after went there myself.

In order to ascertain the truth of the principle on a larger scale than could be shewn by a portable model of five or six feet in length, I went to the iron foundery of Messrs. Walkers', at Rotheram in the county of Yorkshire, in England, and had a complete rib of ninety feet span, and five feet of height from the cord line to the centre of the arch, manufactured and erected. It was a segment of a circle of four hundred and ten feet diameter; and until this was done, no experiment on a circle of such extensive diameter had ever been made in architecture, or the practicability of it supposed.

The Rib was erected between a wall of a furnace belonging to the iron works, and the gable end of a brick building,

which served as butments. The weight of iron in the rib was three tons, and we loaded it with double its weight in pig iron. I wrote to Mr. Jefferson, who was then at Paris, an account of this experiment; and also to Sir Joseph Banks in London, who in his answer to me says—"I look for many other bold improvements from your countrymen, the Americans, who think with vigour, and are not fettered with the trammels of science before they are capable of exerting their mental faculties to advantage."

On the success of this experiment, I entered into an agreement with the iron founders at Rotheram to cast and manufacture a complete bridge, to be composed of five ribs of one hundred and ten feet span, and five feet of height from the cord-line, being a segment of a circle of six hundred and ten feet diameter, and to send it to London to be erected as a specimen for establishing a manufactory of iron bridges to be sent to any part of the world.

The bridge was erected at the village of Paddington near London, but being on a plain field where no advantage could be taken of butments without the expence of building them, as in the former case, it served only as a specimen of the practicability of a manufactory of iron bridges. It was brought by sea, packed in the hold of a vessel, from the place where it was made; and after standing a year was taken down without injury to any of its parts, and might be erected any where else.

At this time my bridge operations became suspended. Mr. Edmund Burke published his attack on the French revolution and the system of representative government and in defence of government by hereditary succession, a thing which is in its nature an absurdity because it is impossible to make wisdom hereditary; and therefore, so far as wisdom is necessary in government, it must be looked for where it can be found. Sometimes in one family; sometimes in another. History informs us that the son of Solomon was a fool. He lost ten tribes out of twelve.* There are those in later times who lost thirteen.

The publication of this work of Mr. Burke, abused in its principles and outrageous in its manner, drew me, as I have said, from my bridge operations, and my time because employed in defending a system then established and operating in America and which I wished to see peaceably adopted in Europe—I therefore ceased my work on the bridge to em-

* 2 Chron. chap. 10.

ploy myself on the more necessary work, *Rights of Man*, in answer to Mr. Burke.

In 1792, a Convention was elected in France, for the express purpose of forming a constitution on the authority of the people, as had been done in America, of which Convention I was elected a member. I was at that time in England, and knew nothing of my being elected till the arrival of the person who was sent officially to inform me of it.

During my residence in France, which was from 1792, to 1802, an iron bridge of two hundred and thirty-six feet span, and thirty-four of height from the cord line, was erected over the river Wear, at the town of Sunderland, in the county of Durham in England. It was done chiefly at the expence of the two members of Parliament for that county, Milbanke and Burdon.

It happened that a very intimate friend of mine, Sir Robert Smyth (who was also an acquaintance of Mr. Monroe, the American minister, and since of Mr. Livingston) was then at Paris. He had been colleague in Parliament with Milbanke, and supposing that the persons who constructed the iron bridge at Sunderland had made free with my model, which was at the iron works where the Sunderland bridge was cast, he wrote to Milbanke on the subject, and the following is that gentleman's answer:—

“With respect to the bridge over the river Wear at Sunderland, it certainly is a work well deserving admiration both for its structure and utility, and I have good grounds for saying, that the first idea was suggested by Mr. Paine's bridge exhibited at Paddington. What difference there may be in some part of the structure, or in the proportion of wrought and cast iron, I cannot pretend to say, Burdon having undertaken to build the bridge, in consequence of his having taken upon himself whatever the expence might be beyond between three and four thousand pounds (sterling) subscribed by myself and some other gentlemen. But whatever the mechanism might be it did not supersede the necessity of a center.* [The writer has here confounded a center with a scaffolding.] Which center (continues the writer) was esteemed a very ingenious piece of workman-

* It is the technical term, meaning the boards and timbers which form the arch upon which the permanent materials are laid: when a bridge is finished, the workmen they say are ready to strike the centre, that is to take down the scaffolding.

ship, and taken from a plan sketched out by Mr. Nash, an architect of great merit, who had been consulted in the outset of the business when a bridge of stone was in contemplation.

“ With respect, therefore, to any gratuity to Mr. Paine, though ever so desirous of rewarding the labour of an ingenious man, I do not feel, how, under the circumstances already described, I have it in my power, having had nothing to do with the bridge after the payment of my subscription, Mr. Burdon then becoming accountable for the whole. But if you can point out any mode, according to which it should be in my power to be instrumental in procuring him any compensation for the advantage the public may have derived from his ingenious model, from which certainly the outline of the bridge at Sunderland was taken, be assured it will afford me very great satisfaction *

“ RA. MILBANKE.”

The year before I left France, the Government of that country had it in contemplation to erect an iron bridge over the river Seine at Paris. As all edifices of public construction came under the cognizance of the Minister of the Interior—(and as their plan was to erect a bridge of five iron arches of one hundred feet span each, instead of passing the river with a single arch, and which was going backward in practice, instead of forward, as there was already an iron arch of two hundred and thirty-six feet in existence) I wrote the Minister of the Interior, the Citizen Chaptal, a memoir on the construction of iron bridges. The following is his answer:—

The Minister of the Interior to the Citizen Thomas Paine.

I have received, Citizen, the observations that you have been so good as to address to me upon the construction of iron bridges. They will be of the greatest utility to us in a moment when this new kind of construction goes to be executed for the first time. I see with pleasure, Citizen, that you have rights of more than of one kind to the thankfulness of nations, and I give you, cordially, the particular expression of my esteem.†

CHAPTAL.

* The original is in my possession.

† The original in French is in my possession.

A short time before I left France a person came to me from London with plans and drawings for an iron bridge of one arch over the river Thames at London, of six hundred feet span, and sixty feet of height from the cord line. The subject was then before a committee of the House of Commons, but I know not the proceedings thereon.

As this new construction of an arch for bridges, and the principles on which it is founded, originated in America, as the documents I have produced sufficiently prove, and is becoming an object of importance to the world, and to no part of it more than our own, on account of its numerous rivers, and as no experiment has been made in America to bring it into practice, further than on the models I have executed myself, and at my own expence, I beg leave to submit a proposal to Congress on the subject, which is,

To erect an experiment rib of about four hundred feet span, to be the segment of a circle of at least one thousand feet diameter, and to let it remain exposed to public view, that the method of constructing such arches may be generally known.

It is an advantage peculiar to the construction of iron bridges, that the success of an arch of given extent and height, can be ascertained without being at the expence of building the bridge: which is, by the method I propose, that of erecting an experiment rib on the ground where advantage can be taken of two hills for butments.

I began in this manner with the rib of ninety feet span, and five feet of height, being a segment of a circle of four hundred and ten feet diameter. The undertakers of the Sunderland bridge began in the same manner. They contracted with the iron-founders for a single rib, and finding it to answer, had five more manufactured like it, and erected it into a bridge consisting of six ribs, the experiment rib being one. But the Sunderland bridge does not carry the principle much further into practice than had been done by the rib of ninety feet span and five feet in height, being as before said, a segment of a circle of four hundred and ten feet diameter. The Sunderland bridge being three hundred and six feet span and thirty-four feet of height, gives the diameter of the circle of which it is a segment, to be four hundred and forty-four feet, within a few inches, which is but a larger segment of a circle of thirty-four feet more diameter.

The construction of those bridges does not come within the line of any established practice of business. The stoue architect can derive but little from the theory or practice of

his art that enters into the construction of an iron bridge; and the iron-founder, though he may be expert in moulding and casting the parts, when the models are given him, would be at a loss to proportion them unless he was acquainted with all the lines and properties belonging to a circle.

If it should appear to Congress that the construction of iron bridges will be of utility to the country, and they should direct that an experiment rib be made for that purpose, I will furnish the proportions for the several parts of the work, and give my attendance to superintend the erection of it freely.

But, in any case, I have to request that this memoir may be put on the journals of Congress as an evidence hereafter, that this new construction of bridges originated in America.

THOMAS PAINE.

Federal City, Jan. 3, 1803.

N. B. The two models mentioned in the memoir, will, I expect, arrive at Philadelphia by the next packet from the Federal city, and will remain for some time in Mr. Peale's Museum.

ADDRESS FROM BORDENTOWN.

At an adjourned Meeting of the Republicans of Bordentown, and its neighbourhood, held at the house of Thomas Lawrence, Colonel Joseph Kirkbride in the chair,

Resolved, That the following Address, signed by the Chairman, be published in the True American, printed by Wilson and Blackwell, of Trenton, and that the patriotic Printers in other parts be requested to republish it :—

TO OUR FELLOW-CITIZENS.

FEDERALISM and *falsehood*, like *cursing* and *swearing*, are become so united, that to think of one is to remember both.

The following electioneering hand-bill, drawn up by a Federal committee of the county of Rensselaer, State of New York, was sent by post from thence to this place, but by whom, or for what purpose, is not known, as it was enclosed in a blank cover.

The aforesaid meeting of the Federal committee was held for the purpose of nominating and recommending candidates for the election then ensuing; but when the election came on, it unfortunately happened, for lying, like a stumbling horse, will lay his rider in the dust, that none of the candidates recommended by the meeting were elected. The Republican ticket overrun the Federal ticket more than two to one.

The introductory paragraphs in the hand-bill (as will be seen by the reading) are hypocritical, inserted to deceive at first sight, and make the unwary believe it is a Republican hand-bill recommending Republican candidates. Those paragraphs speak the pure language of democracy and Republican Government. The right of the people to elect their law-givers is spoken of as the boast of Americans. It is thus the apostate leaders of the faction counterfeit the principles of democracy to work its overthrow. The language of their pen in the former part, but their hand-bill address is not the language of their hearts; nor is it the language of their lips on any other occasion than to deceive at an election.

They have long tried the foul language of abuse without success, and they are now trying what hypocrisy will do. But let the hand-bill speak for itself.

To the Independent Electors of the county of Rensselaer.

“ Fellow-Citizens!

“ The following candidates for senators from the eastern district, and for Members of Assembly for the county of Rensselaer, are recommended to your confidence and support at the ensuing election, by the united voice of your committees collected from each of the towns in the county, viz.

FOR SENATORS.

Moses Vail, of the county of Rensselaer,
 Stephen Lush, of the city and county of Albany,
 Ebenezer Clark, of the county of Washington,
 Daniel Paris, of the county of Montgomery,
 William Baily, of the county of Clinton.

FOR MEMBERS OF ASSEMBLY.

John D. Dickinson, of the town of Troy,
 Arent Van Dyck, of Schodack,
 Hezekiah Hull, of Stephentown,
 Randal Spencer, of Petersburg,
 Jeremiah Scuyler, of Hoosick.

“ Among the privileges, fellow-citizens, which belong to freemen, perhaps there is no one more dear to them, than that of selecting from among themselves the persons who shall make the laws by which they are to be governed. From this source arises a consolation, which is the boast of Americans, that in elective Governments like ours, the people are their own law-givers. To the exercise of this privilege, equally interesting to ourselves and important to society, we shall in a few days be called.

“ It becomes us, then, fellow-citizens, when about to enter upon a duty so essential to the welfare of the community, to divest ourselves of all unwarrantable prejudices; and while with one hand we offer the names of our candidates, to be able, with the other on our hearts, to appeal to Him who knows our secret intentions, to witness the rectitude of our conduct.

“ Under the full weight of these impressions, the candidates whose names we here take the liberty of offering for your

support, have been selected; and without wishing to draw any invidious comparisons between them and those of our political opponents, we feel justified in saying, that they are men whose patriotism and fidelity entitle them to the confidence of their countrymen. Their principles are truly *Republican*. Not of that kind of *modern Republicanism* which consists in a heterogeneous mass of *Jacobinism* and *democracy*; but that which the constitution of our country recognizes; that which the immortal WASHINGTON in his life practised, and by his invaluable legacy transmitted to the world.

In these our candidates, we do not promise advocates of unrestrained liberty; neither can we engage that the people shall be entirely released from the burthen of supporting the Government which protects them. These are promises incompatible with rational liberty. They are empty sounds, calculated to ensnare and deceive: therefore we leave the full and exclusive use of them with our adversaries, to whom they of right belong. To the syren sound of delusive and false promises are they in a great measure indebted for the power they now hold.

We have been told that the administration of the Federal Government, by *Washington* and *Adams*, was tyrannical and corrupt; that a system of profusion and extravagance was pursuing, which must ruin the nation. We have been called upon by all that was dear to us, to look to *Jefferson* for relief, and have been promised every thing which could allure the credulous, or delude the unwary. But what have we realised? What, alas! but disappointment? Pause and reflect. Instead of a system of equal taxation for the support of Government, we now see the lordly *Virginian* rolling over his plantation in his gilded coach, in the free use of all the luxuries of life, but exempt from taxes; while we are obliged to pay a duty on the necessaries of life, amounting to nearly one-third part of their value. Instead of an *American*, whose integrity has stood the test of the severest scrutiny, we behold, with the keys of our treasury in his hand, a *foreigner*, famous only for having instigated an insurrection in Pennsylvania. Instead of a navy sufficient to protect our commerce against the lawless depredations of pirates and marauders, we have seen our vessels sacrificed under the hammer of the auctioneer for less than half their value; and our commerce unprotected, and a prey to the pusillanimous and detestable Spaniards.

But startle not at these things, fellow-citizens—We could

a tale unfold, which would arouse the just indignation of every friend to his country. We could tell you of *millions* of our money applied to *secret purposes!* Of immense sums sacrificed in the sale of the bank shares of the United States, amounting to nearly *two hundred thousand dollars!* We could tell you of another enormous sum of *one hundred and fourteen thousand dollars*, totally unaccounted for by the commissioners of the sinking fund. We could tell you, that instead of the salaries of the officers of Government being diminished, they have increased about *thirty thousand dollars!*—But we forbear.—While the administration of the Government is in their hands, it is our duty to submit, though we should be buried in its ruins.

“ But fortunately we are not without a corrective for the evil. To the good sense of an enlightened public, and the freedom of our elections, we can with confidence appeal. Let us arouse, then, and rally round the Constitution of our country, which though mangled by the assassinating hand of democracy, is yet dear to us. Let us no longer be lulled to inactivity by these canting hypocrites, who draw near to us with their lips, while their hearts are far from us: but like *freemen*, indignant at the injuries heaped upon our country, come forward to the support of those principles which have heretofore actuated us; and say to the work of destruction, hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy mad career be stayed.

“ By order of the meeting,

“ DERICK LANE, Chairman.”

JOHN E. VAN ALLEN, Secretary.

Greenbush, April 7. 1803.

Here ends the hand-bill. We know not if it was publicly circulated at the election, or given privately among a few as a *cue* for the language they were to hold; but as it is come into our hands we give it the publicity which the framers of it were probably ashamed to do; and we subjoin to it our own observations, as a guard against similar impositions at the elections in our own state, in October next.

Of the former part of the hand-bill we have already spoken—we now come to the latter part.

“ We could a tale unfold,” say the framers of this bill,

“that would arouse the just indignation of every friend to his country.”

The phraseology of unfolding a tale is borrowed from Shakspeare's plays. It suits very well on the stage where every thing is fiction, but sounds fantastical in real life; and when used in an electioneering address it suggests the idea of a comedian politician spouting a speech.

It is principles and facts, and not tales, that we concern ourselves about. But if they have a tale to tell, why have they not told it? Insinuation is the language of cowardice and detraction; and though the manly sense of free men despise it, the justice of the country ought to punish it.

“We could tell you (say they) of millions of our money applied to secret purposes—Of immense sums sacrificed in the sale of the bank shares of the United States amounting to nearly two hundred thousand dollars. We could tell you of another enormous sum of one hundred and fourteen thousand dollars totally unaccounted for by the commissioners of the sinking fund. We could tell you that instead of the salaries of the officers of Government being diminished, they have been increased about thirty thousand dollars. But” (here one would suppose they were going to tell. No. They are going not to tell, for they bring themselves off by saying) *BUT WE FORBEAR*; and then in true cant of hypocrisy, they add—*While the administration of the Government is in their hands* (meaning in the hands of the present administration) *it is our duty to submit, though we should be buried in its ruins.*—Alas, poor Feds!!!

But from this state of sackcloth and despair they “arouse” and shake themselves into new life, as a drowning cur shakes himself when he reaches the shore; and they say in the next paragraph—“But fortunately we are not without a corrective for the evil. To the good sense of an enlightened public and the freedom of our elections we can with confidence appeal.”

They have now made their appeal. The election is over; and the public to whom they have appealed have passed sentence of contempt and condemnation upon them; and said to them, not in the fancied importance of words, but in the loud language of fact, “Here shall thy mad career be stayed.” Go home and rave no more.

In bringing before the public this piece of Federal trumpery, the work of some fantastical phrase-maker, who to a jingle of words adds a jumble of ideas, and contradicts in one paragraph what he says in another, we feel that sincerity of

concern which a desire for peace and the love of our country inspire.

We possess a land highly favoured by nature, and protected by Providence. We have nothing to do but to be happy. The men who now assail with abuse the administration of our choice, and disturb the public tranquility with their clamours, were once entrusted with power.—They dishonoured by violence, and betrayed by injustice, the trust reposed in them, and the public has dismissed them as unworthy of their confidence. They are now endeavouring to regain, by deceit and falsehood, what they lost by arrogance and apostasy. *As a faction*, unjust and turbulent, they feel what they ought to feel, the pain of disappointment and disgrace. The prosperous condition of the country and of its public affairs, under the present wise and mild administration is, to minds like theirs, an agonizing scene. Every thing that goes right brings sorrow to them; and they mistake their own malignant feelings for a public sentiment.

As citizens, they live under the same laws with every other citizen. No party oppression is acted upon them. They have the same rights, the same privileges, the same civil and religious freedom, that other citizens enjoy; but the cankered heart of faction is a stranger to repose.

When power was in their hands they used it oppressively and ignorantly. They encouraged mobs, and insulted in the streets, the supporters and friends of the Revolution, and taught their children to do the same. They enacted unjust laws, calling them alien and sedition laws; and though their forefathers were all aliens, and many of themselves but one remove from it, they persecuted the aliens of the present day, who, flying from oppression, as their own forefathers had done, came to live among us, and prohibited others from arriving.

They established in America, as Robespierre had done in France, a system of terror, and appointed judges disposed to execute it. Destitute of economy as they were of principle, they filled the country with unnecessary officers and loaded it with taxes; and had their power continued another election, supported as their plan was by a standing army, the taxes, instead of being reduced as they are now, must have been doubled. Is it any wonder, then, that with all these iniquities on their heads, the public has dismissed them?

That men should differ in opinion is natural, and sometimes advantageous. It serves as a check on the extremes of each other. But the leaders of the present faction ad-

vance no opinion and declare no principle. They say not what their conduct in government would be were they restored to power. They deal altogether in abuse and slander.

The country knows what the character and conduct of the present administration is—that it cultivates peace abroad and prosperity at home, and manages the revenue with honourable economy. Every citizen is protected in his rights, and every profession of religion in its independence. These are the blessings we enjoy under the present administration; and what more can a people expect, or a government perform?

By order of the meeting,

J. KIRKBRIDE, Chairman.

THOMAS PAINE, Secretary.

Ordered.—That five hundred copies in hand bills be printed for the use of the meeting.

TO THE ENGLISH PEOPLE ON THE INVASION OF
ENGLAND.

IN casting my eye over England and America, and comparing them together, the difference is very striking. The two countries were created by the same power, and peopled from the same stock. What then has caused the difference? Have those who emigrated to America improved, or those whom they left behind degenerated? There are as many degrees of difference in the political morality of the two people, as there are of longitude between the two countries.

In the science of cause and effect, every thing that enters into the composition of either must be allowed its proportion of influence. In investigating, therefore, into the cause of this difference, we must take into the calculation the difference of the two systems of Government, the *hereditary* and the *representative*. Under the hereditary system, it is the Government that forms and fashions the political character of the people. In the representative system, it is the people that form the character of the Government. Their own happiness as citizens forms the basis of their conduct, and the guide of their choice. Now, is it more probable, that an hereditary Government should become corrupt, and corrupt the people by its example, or that a whole people should become corrupt, and produce a corrupt Government; for the point where the corruption begins, becomes the source from whence it afterwards spreads.

While men remained in Europe as subjects of some hereditary potentate, they had ideas conformable to that condition; but when they arrived in America, they found themselves in possession of a new character, the character of sovereignty; and, like converts to a new religion, they became inspired with new principles. Elevated above their former rank, they considered Government and public affairs as part of their own concern, for they were to pay the expence, and they watched them with circumspection. They soon found that Government was not that complicated thing, enshrined in mystery, which Church and State, to play into each other's hands, had represented it; and that to conduct it with proper effect, was to conduct it justly. Common sense, common honesty, and civil manners, qualify a man

for Government; and besides this, put man in a situation that requires new thinking, and the mind will grow up to it, for, like the body, it improves by exercise. Man is but a learner all his life-time.

But whatever be the cause of the difference of character between the Government and people of England, and those of America, the effect arising from that difference is as distinguishable as the sun from the moon. We see America flourishing in peace, cultivating friendship with all nations, and reducing her public debt and taxes, incurred by the Revolution. On the contrary, we see England almost perpetually in war, or warlike disputes, and her debt and taxes continually increasing. Could we suppose a stranger, who knew nothing of the origin of the two countries, he would, from observation, conclude, that America was the *old* country, experienced and sage, and England the *new*, eccentric and wild.

Scarcely had England drawn home her troops from America, after the revolutionary war, than she was on the point of plunging herself into a war with Holland, on account of the Stadtholder; then with Russia; then with Spain, on the account of Nootka *cat-skins*; and actually with France to prevent her Revolution. Scarcely had she made peace with France, and before she had fulfilled her own part of the treaty, then she declared war again to avoid fulfilling the treaty. In her treaty of peace with America, she engaged to evacuate the western ports within six months, but having obtained peace she refused to fulfil the conditions, and kept possession of the posts and embroiled herself in an Indian war. In her treaty of peace with France, she engaged to evacuate Malta within three months, but having obtained peace, she refused to evacuate Malta, and began a new war.

All these matters pass before the eyes of the world, who form their own opinion thereon, regardless of what English newspapers may say of France, or French papers say of England. The non-fulfilment of a treaty is a case that every body can understand. They reason upon it as they would on a contract between two individuals, and in so doing they reason from a right foundation. The affected pomp and mystification of Courts make no alteration in the principle. Had France declared war to compel England to fulfil the treaty, as a man would commence a civil action to compel a delinquent party to fulfil a contract, she would have stood acquitted in the opinion of nations. But that England still holding Malta, should go to war for Malta, is a paradox

not easily solved, unless it be supposed that the peace was insidious from the beginning, that it was concluded with the expectation that the military ardour of France would cool, or a new order of things arise, or a national discontent prevail, that would favour a non-execution of the treaty, and leave England arbiter of the fate of Malta.

Something like this, which was like a vision in the clouds, must have been the calculation of the British Ministry; for certainly they did not expect the war would take the turn it has. Could they have foreseen, and they ought to have foreseen, that the declaration of war was the same as sending a challenge to Buonaparte to invade England, and make it the seat of war, they hardly would have done it unless they were mad; for in any event, such a war might produce, in a military view, it is England would be the sufferer unless it terminated in a wise revolution. One of the causes assigned for this declaration of war by the British Ministry, was that Buonaparte had cramped their commerce. If by cramping their commerce is to be understood that of encouraging and extending the commerce of France, he had a right, and it was his duty to do it. The prerogative of monopoly belongs to no nation. But to make this one of the causes of war, considering their commerce in consequence of that declaration is now cramped ten times more, is like the case of a foolish man, who, after losing an eye in fight, renews the combat to revenge the injury, and loses the other eye.

Those who never experienced an invasion, by suffering it, which the English people have not, can have but little idea of it. Between the two armies the country will be desolated wherever the armies are, and that as much by their own army as by the enemy. The farmers on the coast will be the first sufferers; for, whether their stock of cattle, corn, &c. be seized by the invading army, or driven off, or burnt, by orders of their own Government, the effect will be the same to them. As to the revenue, which has been collected altogether in paper, since the Bank stopped payment, it will go to destruction the instant an invading army lands; and, as to the effective Government, there can be but little where two armies are contending for victory in a country small as England is.

With respect to the general politics of Europe, the British Ministry could not have committed a greater error than to make Malta the ostensible cause of the war; for though Malta is an unproductive rock, and will be an expence to any nation that possesses it, there is not a power in Europe

will consent that England should have it. It is a situation capable of annoying and controuling the commerce of other nations in the Mediterranean; and the conduct of England on the seas and in the Baltic, has shewn the danger of her possessing Malta. Buonaparte, by opposing her claim has all Europe with him: England, by asserting it, loses all. Had the English Ministry studied for an object that would put them at variance with all nations from the North of Europe to the South, they could not have done it more effectually.

But what is Malta to the people of England, compared with the evils and dangers they already suffer in consequence of it? It is their own Government that has brought this upon them. Were Burke now living, he would be deprived of his exclamation, that "*the age of chivalry is gone*;" for this declaration of war is like a challenge sent from one knight of the sword to another knight of the sword to fight him on the challenger's ground, and England is staked as the prize.

But though the British Ministry began this war for the sake of Malta, they are now artful enough to keep Malta out of sight. Not a word is now said about Malta in any of their parliamentary speeches and messages. The King's Speech is silent upon the subject, and the invasion is put in its place, as if the invasion was the cause of the war, and not the consequences of it. This policy is easily seen through. The case is, they went to war *without counting the cost*, or calculating upon events, and they are now obliged to shift the scenes to conceal the disgrace.

If they were disposed to try experiments upon France, they chose for it the worst possible time, as well as the worst possible object. France has now for its chief the most enterprising and fortunate man, either for deep project or daring execution, the world has known for many ages. Compared with him, there is not a man in the British Government, or under its authority, has any chance with him. That he is ambitious, the world knows, and he always was so; but he knew where to stop. He had reached the highest point of probable expectation, and having reduced all his enemies to peace, had set himself down to the improvement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce at home, and his conversation with the English Ambassador, Whitworth shewed he wished to continue so. In this view of his situation, could any thing be worse policy than to give to satisfied ambition a new object, and provoke it into action. Yet this the British Ministry have done.

The plan of a descent upon England by gun-boats, began after the first peace with Austria, and the acquisition of Belgium by France. Before that acquisition, France had no territory on the North Sea, and it is there the descent will be carried on. Dunkirk was then her northern limit. The English coast opposite to France, on the Channel, from the straits between Dover and Calais to the Land's End, about three hundred miles, is high, bold, and rocky, to the height, in many places, perpendicular, of three, four, or five hundred feet, and it is only where there are breaks in the rocks, as at Portsmouth, Plymouth, &c., that a landing can be made; and as those places could be easily protected, because England was mistress of the Channel, France had no opportunity of making an invasion, unless she could first defeat the English fleet. But the union of Belgium to France makes a new order of things.

The English coast on the North Sea, including the counties of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Lincolnshire, is as level as a bowling green, and approachable in every part for more than two hundred miles. The shore is a clean firm sand, where a flat-bottomed boat may row dry a-ground. The country people use it as a race-ground and for other sports when the tide is out. It is the weak and defenceless part of England, and it is impossible to make it otherwise: and besides this, there is not a port or harbour in it where ships of the line or large frigates can rendezvous for its protection. The Belgic coast, and that of Holland, which joins it, are directly opposite this defenceless part, and opens a new passage for invasion. The Dutch fishermen know this coast better than the English themselves, except those who live upon it; and the Dutch smugglers know every creek and corner in it.

The original plan, formed in the time of the Directory (but now much more extensive), was to build one thousand boats, each sixty feet long, sixteen feet broad, to draw about two feet water, to carry a twenty-four or thirty-six pounder in the head, and a field-piece in the stern, to be run out as soon as they touched ground. Each boat was to carry a hundred men, making in the whole one hundred thousand, and to row with twenty or twenty-five oars on a side. Buonaparte was appointed to the command, and by an agreement between him and me, I was to accompany him, as the intention of the expedition was to give the people of England an opportunity of forming a Government for themselves, and thereby bring about peace. I have no reason to

suppose this part of the plan is altered, because there is nothing better Buonaparte can do. As to the clamour spread by some of the English newspapers, that he comes for plunder, it is absurd. Buonaparte is too good a general to undiscipline and dissolute his army by plundering, and too good a politician, as well as too much accustomed to great achievements, to make plunder his object. He goes against the Government that has declared war against him.

As the expedition could choose its time of setting off, either after a storm, when the English would be blown off, or in a calm, or in a fog; and as thirty-six hours rowing would be able to carry it over, the probability is, it would arrive, and when arrived, no ship of the line or large frigate could approach it, on account of the shoalness of the coast; and besides this, the boats would form a floating battery, close in with the shore, of a thousand pieces of heavy artillery; and the attempt of Nelson against the gun-boats at Boulogne shews the insufficiency of ships in such situations. About two hundred and fifty gun-boats were built, when the expedition was abandoned for that of Egypt, to which the preparations had served as a feint.

The present impolitic war by the English Government has now renewed the plan, and that with much greater energy than before, and with national unanimity. All France is alive to chastise the English Government for recommencing the war, and all Europe stands still to behold it. The preparations for the invasion have already demonstrated to France what England ought never to have suffered her to know, which is, that she can hold the English Government in terror, and the whole country in alarm, whenever she pleases, and as long as she pleases, and that without employing a single ship of the line, and more effectually than if she had an hundred sail. The boasted navy of England is outdone by gun-boats! It is a revolution in naval tactics; but we live in an age of revolutions.

The preparations in England for defence are also great, but they are marked with an ominous trait of affairs in England. Not an address has been presented to the King by any county, city, town, or corporation, since the declaration of war. The people unite for the protection of themselves and property against whatever events may happen, but they are *not pleased*, and their silence is the expression of their discontent.

Another circumstance, curious and awkward, was the conduct of the House of Commons with respect to their

address to the King in consequence of the King's Speech at the opening of the Parliament. The address, which is always an echo of the speech, was voted without opposition, and this equivocal silence passed for unanimity. The next thing was to present it, and it was made the order for the next day that the House should go up in a body to the King, with the Speaker at their head, for that purpose. The time fixed was half after three, and it was expected the procession would be numerous, three or four hundred at least, in order to shew their zeal and their loyalty and their thanks to the King for his intention of taking the field. But when half after three arrived, only thirty members were present, and without forty (the number that makes a House) the address could not be presented. The serjeant was then sent out, with the authority of a press-warrant, to search for members, and by four o'clock he returned with just enough to make up forty, and the procession set off with the slowness of a funeral; for it was remarked it went slower than usual.

Such a circumstance in such a critical juncture of affairs, and on such an occasion, shews, at least, a great indifference towards the Government. It was like saying, you have brought us into a great deal of trouble, and we have no *personal* thanks to make to you. We have voted the address, as a customary matter of form, and we leave it to find its way to you as well as it can.

If the invasion succeed, I hope Buonaparte will remember that this war has not been provoked by the people. It is altogether the act of the Government, without their consent or knowledge; and though the late peace appears to have been insidious from the first, on the part of Government, it was received by the people with a sincerity of joy.

There is yet, perhaps, one way, if it be not too late, to put an end to this burthensome state of things, and which threatens to be worse, which is, for the people, now they are embodied for their own protection, to instruct their representatives in Parliament to move for the fulfilment of the treaty of Amiens, for a treaty ought to be fulfilled. The present is an uncommon case, accompanied with uncommon circumstances, and it must be got over by means suited to the occasion. What is Malta to them? The possession of it might serve to extend the patronage and influence of the Crown, on the appointment to new offices, and the part that would fall to the people would be to pay the expence. The more acquisitions the Government makes abroad, the more

taxes the people have to pay at home. This has always been the case in England.

The non-fulfilment of a treaty ruins the honour of a Government and spreads a reproach over the character of a nation. But when a treaty of peace is made with the concealed design of not fulfilling it, and war is declared for the avowed purpose of avoiding it, the case is still worse. The representative system does not put it in the power of an individual to declare war of his own will. It must be the act of the body of the representatives, for it is their constituents who are to pay the expence. The state which the people of England are now in, shews the extreme danger of trusting this power to the caprice of an individual, whatever title he may bear. In that country this power is assumed by what is called the Crown, for it is not constituted by any legal authority. It is a branch from the trunk of monarchical despotism.

By this impolitic declaration of war the Government of England have put every thing to issue; and no wise general would commence an action he might avoid, where nothing is to be gained by gaining the battle, and every thing is to be lost by losing it. An invasion and a revolution, which consequently includes that of Ireland, stand now on the same ground. What part the people may finally take in a contest pregnant with such an issue is yet to be known. By the experiment of raising the country *in mass*, the Government have put arms into the hands of men whom they would have sent to Botany Bay but a few months before, had they found a pike in their possession. The honour of this project, which is copied from France, is claimed by Mr. Pitt; and no project of his has yet succeeded, in the end, except that of raising the taxes, and ruining the Bank. All his schemes in the revolutionary war of France failed of success, and finished in discredit. If Buonaparte is remarkable for an unexampled series of good fortune, Mr. Pitt is remarkable for a contrary fate, and his want of popularity with the people, whom he deserted and betrayed on the question of a reform of parliament, sheds no beams of glory round his projects.

If the present eventful crisis, for an eventful one it is, should end in a revolution, the people of England have, within their glance, the benefit of experience both in theory and fact. This was not the case at first. The American Revolution began on untried ground. The representative system of Government was then unknown in practice, and but little thought of in theory. The idea that man must be

governed by effigy and show, and that superstitious reverence was necessary to establish authority, had so benumbed the reasoning faculties of men, that some bold exertion was necessary to shock them into reflection. But the experiment has now been made. The practice of almost thirty years, the last twenty of which have been of peace, notwithstanding the wrong-headed tumultuous administration of John Adams, has proved the excellence of the representative system, and the NEW WORLD is now the preceptor of the OLD. The children are become the fathers of their progenitors.

With respect to the French Revolution, it was begun by good men and on good principles, and I have always believed it would have gone on so, had not the provocative interference of foreign powers, of which Pitt was the principal and vindictive agent, distracted it into madness, and sown jealousies among the leaders.

The people of England have now two revolutions before them. The one as an example; the other as a warning. Their own wisdom will direct them what to choose and what to avoid, and in every thing which regards their happiness, combined with the common good of mankind, I wish them honour and success.

New York, May, 1804.

THOMAS PAINE.

TO A FRIEND.

FELLOW-CITIZEN,

New Rochelle, July 9, 1804.

As the weather is now getting hot in New York, and the people begin to get out of town, you may as well come up here and help me to settle my accounts with the man who lives on the place. You will be able to do this better than I shall, and in the mean time I can go on with my literary works, without having my mind taken off by affairs of a different kind. I have received a packet from Governor Clinton enclosing what I wrote for. If you come up by the stage you will stop at the post-office, and they will direct you the way to the farm. It is only a pleasant walk. I send a piece for the Prospect; if the plan mentioned in it is pursued, it will open a way to enlarge and give establishment to the Deistical Church; but of this and some other things we will talk when you come up, and the sooner the better. Your's, in friendship,

THOMAS PAINE.

I have not received any newspapers nor any numbers of the Prospect since I have been here.

TO THE FRENCH INHABITANTS OF LOUISIANA.

A PUBLICATION having the appearance of a memorial and remonstrance, to be presented to Congress at the ensuing session, has appeared in several papers. It is therefore open to examination, and I offer you my remarks upon it. The title and introductory paragraph are as follows :

“ *To the Congress of the United States, in Senate and the House of Representatives convened.*”

“ We the subscribers, planters, merchants, and other inhabitants of Louisiana, respectfully approach the legislature of the United States with a memorial of *our rights*, a remonstrance against certain laws which contravene them, and a petition for that redress to which the laws of nature, sanctioned by positive stipulations have entitled us.”

It often happens that when one party, or one that thinks itself a party, talks much about its rights, it puts those of the other party upon examining into their own, and such is the effect produced by your memorial.

A single reading of that memorial will shew it is the work of some person who is not of your people. His acquaintance with the cause, commencement, progress and termination of the American revolution decides this point; and his making *our* merits in that revolution the ground of *your* claims, as if *our* merits could become *yours*, shews he does not understand *your* situation.

We obtained our rights by calmly understanding principles, and by the successful event of a long, obstinate, and expensive war. But it is not incumbent on us to fight the battles of the world for the world's profit. You are already participating, without any merit or expence in obtaining it, the blessings of freedom acquired by ourselves; and in proportion as you become initiated into the principles and practice of the representative system of government, of which you have yet had no experience, you will participate more, and finally be partakers of the whole. You see what mischief ensued in France by the possession of power before they understood principles. They earned liberty in words, but not in fact. The writer of this was in France through

the whole of the revolution and knows the truth of what he speaks; for after endeavouring to give it principle he had nearly fallen a victim to its rage.

There is a great want of judgment in the person who drew up your memorial. He has mistaken *your* case and forgotten his *own*; and by trying to court your applause has injured your pretensions. He has written like a lawyer, straining every point that would please his client, without studying his advantage. I find no fault with the composition of the memorial, for it is well written; nor with the principles of liberty it contains considered in the abstract. The error lies in the misapplication of them, and in assuming a ground they have not a right to stand upon. Instead of their serving you as a ground of reclamation against us, they change into a satire on yourselves. Why did you not speak thus when you ought to have spoken it. We fought for liberty when you stood quiet in slavery.

The author of the memorial injudiciously confounding two distinct cases together, has spoken as if he was the memorialist of a body of Americans, who after sharing equally with us in all the dangers and hardships of the revolutionary war had retired to a distance and made a settlement for themselves. If in such a situation, Congress had established a temporary government over them in which they were not personally consulted, they would have had a right to speak as the memorial speaks. But your situation is different from what the situation of such persons would be, and therefore *their* ground of reclamation cannot *of right* become yours. You are arriving at freedom by the easiest means that any people ever enjoyed it; without contest, without expence, and even without any contrivance of your own. And you already so far mistake principles that under the name of *rights* you ask for *powers*; *power to import and enslave Africans*; and *to govern a territory that we have purchased*.

To give colour to your memorial you refer to the Treaty of Cession (in which *you were not* one of the contracting parties) concluded at Paris between the governments of the United States and France.

“The third article (you say) of the treaty lately concluded at Paris declares, that the inhabitants of the ceded territory shall be incorporated in the union of the United States, and admitted, *as soon as possible, according to the principles* of the Federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and, *in the mean time*, they shall be protected

in the enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the exercise of the religion they profess."

As from your former condition, you cannot be much acquainted with diplomatic policy, and I am convinced that even the gentleman who drew up the memorial is not, I will explain to you the grounds of this article. It may prevent your running into further errors.

The territory of Louisiana had been so often ceded to different European powers, that it became a necessary article on the part of France, and for the security of Spain, the ally of France, and which accorded perfectly with our own principles and intentions, that it should be *ceded no more*; and this article, stipulating for the incorporation of Louisiana into the union of the United States stands as a bar against all future cession, and at the same time, as well as "*in the mean time*," secures to you a civil and political permanency, personal security and liberty which you never enjoyed before.

France and Spain might suspect, (and the suspicion would not have been ill-founded had the cession been treated for in the administration of John Adams, or when Washington was president, and Alexander Hamilton president over him) that we *bought* Louisiana for the British Government, or with a view of selling it to her; and though such suspicion had no just ground to stand upon with respect to our present President, Thomas Jefferson, who is not only not a man of intrigue, but who possesses that honest pride of principle that cannot be intrigued with, and which keep intriguers at a distance, the article was nevertheless necessary as a precaution against future contingencies. But you, from not knowing the political ground of the article, apply to yourselves *personally* and *exclusively* what had reference to the *territory* to prevent its falling into the hands of any foreign power that might endanger the *Spanish* dominion in America, or those of the *French* in the West India Islands.

You claim, (you say,) to be incorporated into the union of the United States, and your remonstrances on this subject are unjust and without cause.

You are already *incorporated* into it as fully and effectually as the Americans themselves are, who are settled in Louisiana. You enjoy the same rights, privileges, advantages and immunities which they enjoy, and when Louisiana, or some part of it, shall be erected into a Constitutional State, you also will be citizens equally with them.

You speak in your memorial, as if *you* were the *only*

people who were to live in Louisiana, and as if the territory was purchased that *you* exclusively might govern it. In both these cases you are greatly mistaken. The emigrations from the United States into the purchased territory, and the population arising therefrom, will, in a few years, exceed you in numbers. It is but twenty-six years since Kentucky began to be settled, and it already contains more than *double* your population.

In a candid view of the case, you ask for what would be injurious to yourselves to receive, and unjust in us to grant. *Injurious*, because the settlement of Louisiana will go on much faster under the government and guardianship of Congress, than if the government of it were committed to *your* hands; and consequently, the landed property you possessed as individuals when the treaty was concluded, or have purchased since, will increase so much faster in value.—*Unjust to ourselves*, because as the reimbursement of the purchase money must come out of the sale of the lands to new settlers, the government of it cannot suddenly go out of the hands of Congress. They are guardians of that property for *all the people of the United States*. And besides this, as the new settlers will be chiefly from the United States, it would be unjust and ill policy to put them and their property under the jurisdiction of a people whose freedom they had contributed to purchase. You ought also to recollect that the French Revolution has not exhibited to the world that grand display of principles and rights that would induce settlers from other countries to put themselves under a French jurisdiction in Louisiana. Beware of intriguers who may push you on from private motives of their own.

You complain of two cases, one of which you have *no right*, no concern with; and the other is founded in direct injustice.

You complain that Congress has passed a law to divide the country into two territories. It is not improper to inform you, that after the revolutionary war ended, Congress divided the territory acquired by that war into ten territories; each of which were to be erected into a Constitutional State, when it arrived at a certain population mentioned in the act; and, in the mean time, an officer appointed by the President, as the Governor of Louisiana now is, presided, as Governor of the Western Territory, over all such parts as have not arrived at the maturity of *statehood*. Louisiana will require to be divided into twelve states or more; but this is a matter that belongs to the *purchaser* of the territory of Louisiana, and with which the inhabitants of the town of New Orleans

have no right to interfere; and beside this, it is probable that the inhabitants of the other territory would choose to be independent of New Orleans. They might apprehend, that on some speculating pretence, their produce might be put in requisition, and a maximum price put on it; a thing not uncommon in a French Government; as a general rule, without refining upon sentiment, one may put confidence in the justice of those who have no inducement to do us injustice; and this is the case Congress stands in with respect to both territories, and to all other divisions that may be laid out, and to all inhabitants and settlers of whatever nation they may be.

There can be no such thing as what the memorial speaks of, that is, *of a Governor appointed by the President, who may have no interest in the welfare of Louisiana.* He must, from the nature of the case, have more interest in it than any other person can have. He is entrusted with the care of an extensive tract of country, now the property of the United States by purchase. The value of those lands will depend on the increasing prosperity of Louisiana, its agriculture, commerce, and population. You have only a local and partial interest in the town of New Orleans, or its vicinity; and if, in consequence of exploring the country, new seats of commerce should offer, his general interest would lead him to open them, and your partial interest to shut them up.

There is probably some justice in your remark, as it applies to the Governments under which you *formerly* lived. Such Governments always look with jealousy, and an apprehension of revolt, on colonies increasing in prosperity and population, and they send Governors to *keep them down*. But when you argue from the conduct of Governments *distant* and *despotic*, to that of *domestic* and *free* Government, it shews you do not understand the principles and interest of a Republic, and to put you right is friendship; we have had experience and you have not.

The other case to which I alluded, as being founded in direct injustice, is that in which you petition for *power*, under the name of *rights*, to import and enslave Africans!

Dare you put up a petition to Heaven for such a power, without fearing to be struck from the earth by its justice?

Why, then, do you ask it of man against man?

Do you want to renew in Louisiana the horrors of Domingo?

COMMON SENSE.

TO A FRIEND.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,

New Rochelle, Jan. 16, 1805.

I HAVE received two letters from you, one giving an account of your taking Thomas to Mr. Fowler, the other dated Jan. 12; I did not answer the first, because I hoped to see you the next Saturday or the Saturday after. What you heard of a gun being fired into the room is true; Robert and Rachel were both gone out to keep Christmas Eve, and about eight o'clock at night the gun was fired; I run immediately out, one of Mr. Dean's boys with me, but the person that had done it was gone; I directly suspected who it was, and halloed to him by name, that he was discovered. I did this that the party who fired might know I was on the watch. I cannot find any ball, but whatever the gun was charged with passed through about three or four inches below the window, making a hole large enough for a finger to go through; the muzzle must have been very near, as the place is black with the powder, and the glass of the window is shattered to pieces. Mr. Shule after examining the place, and getting what information could be had, issued a warrant to take up Derrick, and after examination committed him. He is now on bail (five hundred dollars) to take his trial at the Supreme Court in May next. Derrick owes me forty-eight dollars for which I have his note, and he was to work it out in making stone-fence which he has not even begun, and besides this I have to pay forty-two pounds eleven shillings for which I had passed my word for him at Mr. Pelton's store. Derrick borrowed the gun under pretence of giving Mrs. Bayeaux a Christmas gun. He was with Purdy about two hours before the attack on the house was made, and he came from thence to Dean's half drunk, and brought with him a bottle of rum, and Purdy was with him when he was taken up.

Yours, in friendship,

THOMAS PAINE.

TO THE CITIZENS OF PENNSYLVANIA, ON THE PROPOSAL
FOR CALLING A CONVENTION.

As I resided in the capital of your State (Philadelphia) in the *time that tried men's souls*, and all my political writings, during the revolutionary war, were written in that city, it seems natural for me to look back to the place of my political and literary birth, and feel an interest for its happiness. Removed as I now am from the place, and detached from every thing of personal party, I address this token to you on the ground of principle, and in remembrance of former times and friendships.

The subject now before you is the call of a Convention, to examine, and if necessary, to reform the Constitution of the State; or to speak in the correct language of constitutional order, to propose written articles of reform to be accepted or rejected by the people, by vote, in the room of those now existing, that shall be judged improper or defective. There cannot be, on the ground of reason, any objection to this; because if no reform or alteration is necessary, the sense of the country will permit none to be made; and, *if necessary*, it *will* be made because it *ought* to be made. Until, therefore, the sense of the country can be collected, and made known by a Convention elected for that purpose, all opposition to the call of a Convention, not only passes for nothing, but serves to create a suspicion that the opposers are conscious that the Constitution will not bear an examination.

The Constitution formed by the Convention of 1776, of which Benjamin Franklin (the greatest and most useful man America has yet produced) was President, had many good points in it, which were overthrown by the Convention of 1790, under the pretence of making the Constitution conformable to that of the United States; as if the forms and periods of election for a territory, extensive as that of the United States is, could become a rule for a single state.

The principal defect in the Constitution of 1776, was, that it was subject, in practice, to too much precipitancy, but the ground work of that Constitution was good. The present Constitution appears to me to be clogged with inconsistencies of a hazardous tendency, as a supposed remedy against a precipitancy that might not happen. Investing any indivi-

dual, by whatever name or official title he may be called, with a negative over the formation of the laws, is copied from the English Government, without ever perceiving the inconsistency and absurdity of it, when applied to the representative system, or understanding the origin of it in England.

The present form of Government in England, and all those things called prerogatives of the Crown, of which this negative power is one, was established by conquest, not by compact. Their origin was the conquest of England by the Normans, under William of Normandy, surnamed the Conqueror, in 1066, and the genealogy of its kings takes its date from him. He is the first of the list. There is no historical certainty of the time when Parliaments began; but be the time when it may, they began by what are called grants or charters from the Norman Conqueror, or his successors, to certain towns, and to counties, to elect members to meet and serve in Parliament* subject to his controul; and the custom still continues with a king of England calling the Parliament *my Parliament*; that is, a Parliament originating from his authority, and over which he holds controul in right of himself, derived from that conquest. It is from this assumed right, derived from conquest, and not from any constitutional right by compact, that kings of England hold a negative over the formation of the laws; and they hold this for the purpose of preventing any being enacted that might abridge, invade, or in any way affect or diminish what they claim to be their hereditary or family rights and prerogatives, derived originally from the conquest of the country.† This is the origin of the King of England's negative. It is a badge of disgrace which *his* Parliaments are obliged to wear, and to which they are abject enough to submit.

But what has this case to do with a Legislature chosen by freemen, on their own authority, in right of themselves? Or in what manner does a person styled Governor or Chief Magistrate resemble a conqueror subjugating a country, as

* *Parliament* is a French word brought into England by the Normans. It comes from the French verb *parler*—to speak.

† When a king of England (for they are not an English race of kings) negatives an act passed by the Parliament, he does it in the Norman or French language, which was the language of the conquest, the literal translation of which is, *the king will advise himself of it*. It is the only instance of a king of England speaking French in Parliament; and shews the origin of the negative.

William of Normandy subjugated England, and saying to it, *you shall have no laws but what I please?* The negating power in a country like America, is of that kind, that a wise man would not choose to be embarrassed with it, and a man fond of using it will be overthrown by it. It is not difficult to see that when Mr. M'Kean negated the Arbitration Act, he was induced to it as a *lawyer*, for the benefit of the profession, and not as a *magistrate*, for the benefit of the people; for it is the office of a chief magistrate to compose differences and *prevent* law-suits. If the people choose to have arbitration instead of law-suits, why should they not have them? It is a matter that concerns them as individuals, and not as a state or community, and is not a proper case for a Governor to interfere in, for it is not a state or government concern; nor does it concern the peace thereof, otherwise than to make it more peaceable by making it less contentious.

This negating power in the hands of an individual ought to be constitutionally abolished. It is a dangerous power. There is no prescribing rules for the use of it. It is discretionary and arbitrary; and the will and temper of the person at any time possessing it, is its only rule.

There must have been great want of reflection in the Convention that admitted it into the Constitution. Would that Convention have put the Constitution it had formed (whether good or bad) in the power of any individual to negate? It would not. It would have treated such a proposal with disdain. Why then did it put the Legislatures thereafter to be chosen and all the laws in that predicament? Had that Convention, or the law members thereof, known the origin of the negating power used by kings of England, from whence they copied it, they must have seen the inconsistency of introducing it into an American Constitution. We are not a conquered people; we know no conqueror; and the negating power used by kings in England is for the defence of the personal and family prerogatives of the successors of the Conqueror against the Parliament and the people. What is all this to us? We know no prerogatives but what belong to the sovereignty of ourselves.

At the time this Constitution was formed, there was a great departure from the principles of the Revolution, among those who then assumed the lead, and the country was grossly imposed upon. This accounts for some inconsistencies that are to be found in the present Constitution, among which is the negating power inconsistently copied

from England. While the exercise of the power over the State remained dormant it remained unnoticed; but the instant it began to be active it began to alarm; and the exercise of it against the rights of the people to settle their private pecuniary differences by the peaceable mode of arbitration, without the interference of lawyers, and the expence and tediousness of courts of law, has brought its existence to a crisis.

Arbitration is of more importance to society than courts of law, and ought to have precedence of them in all cases of pecuniary concerns between individuals or parties of them. Who are better qualified than merchants to settle disputes between merchants, or who better than farmers to settle disputes between farmers? And the same for every other description of men. What do lawyers or courts of law know of these matters? They devote themselves to forms rather than to principles, and the merits of the case become obscure and lost in a labyrinth of verbal perplexities. We do not hear of lawyers going to law with each other, though they could do it cheaper than other people, which shews they have no opinion of it for themselves.

The principle and rule of arbitration ought to be constitutionally established. The honest sense of a country collected in Convention will find out how to do this without the interference of lawyers, who may be hired to advocate any side of any cause; for the case is, the practice of the bar is become a species of prostitution that ought to be controuled. It lives by encouraging the injustice it pretends to redress.

Courts in which law is practised are of two kinds. The one for criminal cases, the other for civil cases, or cases between individuals respecting property of any kind, or the value thereof. I know not what may be the numerical proportion of these two classes of cases to each other; but that the civil cases are far more numerous than the criminal cases I make no doubt of. Whether they be ten, twenty, thirty, or forty to one, or more, I leave to those who live in the State, or in the several counties thereof to determine.

But be the proportion what it may, the expence to the public of supporting a judiciary for both will be, in some relative degree, according to the number of cases the one bears to the other; yet it is only one of them that the public, as a public, have any concern with.

The criminal cases, being breaches of the peace, are consequently under the cognizance of the government of the State, and the expence of supporting the courts thereof be-

long to the public, because the preservation of the peace is a public concern.

But civil cases, that is, cases of private property between individuals, belong wholly to the individuals themselves; and all that government has consistently to do in the matter is to establish the process by which the parties concerned shall proceed and bring the matter to decision themselves, by referring it to impartial and judicious men of the neighbourhood, of their own choosing. This is by far the most convenient, as to time and place, and the cheapest method to them; for it is bringing *justice home to their own doors* without the chicanery of law and lawyers. Every case ought to be determined on its own merits, without the farce of what are called precedents, or reports of cases; because, in the first place, it often happens that the decision upon the case brought as a precedent is bad, and ought to be shunned instead of imitated; and, in the second place, because there are no two cases perfectly alike in all their circumstances, and therefore the one cannot become a rule of decision for the other. It is justice and good judgement that preside by right in a court of arbitration. It is forms, quoted precedents, and contrivances for delay and expence to the parties, that govern the proceedings of a court of law.

By establishing arbitrations in the room of courts of law for the adjustment of private cases, the public will be eased of a great part of the expence of the present judiciary establishment: for certainly such a host of judges, associate judges, presidents of circuits, clerks and criers of courts, as are at present supported at the public expence will not then be necessary. There are, perhaps, more of them than there are criminals to try in the space of a year. Arbitration will lessen the sphere of patronage, and it is not improbable that this was one of the private reasons for negating the Arbitration Act; but public economy, and the convenience and ease of the individuals, ought to have outweighed all such considerations. The present administration of the United States has struck off a long list of useless offices and economised the public expenditure, and it is better to make a precedent of this than to imitate its forms and long periods of election which require reform themselves.

A great part of the people of Pennsylvania make a principle of not going to law, and others avoid it from prudential reasons; yet all those people are taxed to support a judiciary to which they never resort, which is as inconsistent and unjust as it is in England to make the Quakers pay

tythes to support the Episcopal church. Arbitration will put an end to this imposition.

Another complaint against the present Constitution of Pennsylvania is the great quantity of patronage annexed to the office of Governor.

Patronage has a natural tendency to increase the public expence by the temptation it leads to (useless in the hands of a wise man like Franklin) multiply offices within the gift or appointment of that patronage. John Adams, in his administration, went upon the plan of increasing offices and officers. He expected by thus increasing his patronage, and making numerous appointments, that he should attach a numerous train of adherents to him who would support his measures and his future election. He copied this from the corrupt system of England; and he closed his midnight labours by appointing sixteen new unnecessary judges, at an expence to the public of thirty-two thousand dollars annually. John counted only on one side of the case. He forgot that where there was *one* man to be benefited by an appointment, that all the rest had to pay the cost of it; and that by attaching *the one* to him by patronage, he run the risk of losing *the many* by disgust, and such was the consequence; and such will ever be the consequence in a free country where men reason *for* themselves and *from* themselves, and not from the dictates of others.

The less quantity of patronage a man is *incumbered* with, the safer he stands. He cannot please every body by the use of it; and he will have to refuse, and consequently to displease, a greater number than he can please. Mr. Jefferson gained more friends by dismissing a long train of officers, than John Adams did by appointing them. Like a wise man Mr. Jefferson dismantled himself of patronage.

The Constitution of New-York, though like all the rest it has its defects, arising from want of experience in the representative system of government at the time it was formed, has provided much better, in this case, than the Constitution of Pennsylvania has done. The appointments in New-York are made by a *council of appointment* composed of the Governor and a certain number of members of the Senate taken from different parts of the State. By this means they have among them a personal knowledge of whoever they appoint. The governor has one vote but no negative. I do not hear complaints of the abuse of this kind of patronage.

The Constitution of Pennsylvania, instead of being an improvement in the representative system of government, is a

departure from the principles of it. It is a copy in miniature of the government of England, established at the conquest of that country by William of Normandy. I have shewn this in part in the case of the king's negative, and I shall shew it more fully as I go on. This brings me to speak of the Senate.

The complaint respecting the Senate is the length of its duration, being four years. The sage Franklin has said, "Where annual election ends, tyranny begins;" and no man was a better judge of human nature than Franklin, nor has any man in our time exceeded him in the principles of honour and honesty.

When a man ceases to be accountable to those who elected him, and with whose public affairs he is entrusted, he ceases to be their representative, and is put in a condition of being their despot. He becomes the representative of nobody but himself. *I am elected, says he, for four years; you cannot turn me out, neither am I responsible to you in the meantime. All that you have to do with me is to pay me.*

The conduct of the Pennsylvania Senate, in 1800, respecting the choice of electors for the Presidency of the United States, shews the impropriety and danger of such an establishment. The manner of choosing electors ought to be fixed in the Constitution, and not be left to the caprice of contention. It is a matter equally as important, and concerns the rights and interests of the people as much as the election of members for the State Legislature, and in some instances much more. By the conduct of the Senate at that time the people were deprived of their right of suffrage, and the State lost its consequence in the Union. It had but one vote. The other fourteen were paired off by compromise. Seven and seven. If the people had chosen the electors, which they had a right to do, for the electors were to represent *them* and not to represent the Senate; the State would have had fifteen votes which would have counted.

The Senate is an imitation of what is called the House of Lords in England, and which Chesterfield, who was a member of it, and therefore knew it, calls "*the hospital of incurables.*" The Senate in Pennsylvania is not quite an hospital of incurables, but it took almost four years to bring it to a *state of convalescence.*

Before we imitate any thing, we ought to examine whether it be worth imitating, and had this been done by the Convention at that time, they would have seen that the model from which their mimic imitation was made, was no better than unprofitable and disgraceful lumber.

There was no such thing in England as what is called the House of Lords, until the conquest of that country by the Normans, under William the Conqueror, and like the King's negative over the laws, it is a badge of disgrace upon the country; for it is the effect and evidence of its having been reduced to unconditional submission.

William having made the conquest dispossessed the owners of their lands, and divided those lands among the chiefs of the plundering army he brought with him, and from hence arose what is called the *House of Lords*. Daniel de Foe, in his historical satire, intitled, "*The True-born Englishman*," has very concisely given the origin and character of this house as follows:

The great invading Norman let them know
 What conquerors, in after times, might do;
 To every musqueteer he brought to town,
 He gave the lands that never were his own—
 He cantoned out the country to his men,
 And every soldier was a denizen;
 No Parliament his army could disband,
 He raised no money, for he paid in land,
 The rascals, thus enriched, he called them *Lords*,
 To please their upstart pride with new made words,
 And Domesday Book his tyranny records;
 Some show the sword, the bow, and some the spear,
 Which their great ancestor, forsooth, did wear;
 But who the hero was, no man can tell,
 Whether a colonel or a corporal;
 The silent record blushes to reveal
 Their undescended dark original;
 Great ancestors of yesterday, they shew,
 And Lords, whose fathers were—the *Lord knows who!*

This is the disgraceful origin of what is called the House of Lords in England, and it still retains some tokens of the plundering baseness of its origin. The swindler Dundas was lately made a lord, and is now called *noble lord!* Why do they not give him his proper title and call him *noble swindler!* for he swindled by wholesale. But it is probable he will escape punishment; for Blackstone, in his commentary on the laws, recites an act of parliament passed in 1550, and not since repealed, that extends what is called the benefit of clergy, that is exemption from punishment for all clerical offences to all lords and peers of the realm who could not read, as well as those who could, and also for "the crimes of *house-breaking, highway-robbing, horse-stealing, and robbing of churches.*" This is consistent with the original

establishment of the House of Lords, for it was originally composed of robbers. This is aristocracy. This is one of the pillars of John Adams's "stupenduous fabric of human invention." A privilege for house-breaking, highway-robbing, horse-stealing, and robbing of churches! John Adams knew but little of the origin and practice of the government of England. As to Constitution it has none.

The Pennsylvania Convention of 1776, copied nothing from the English Government. It formed a Constitution on the basis of honesty. The defect, as I have already said of that Constitution was the precipitancy to which the legislatures might be subject in enacting laws. All the members of that Legislature established by that Constitution, sat in one chamber and debated in one body, and thus subjected them to precipitancy. But this precipitancy was provided against, but not effectually. The Constitution ordered that the laws, before being finally enacted, should be published for public consideration. But as no given time was fixed for that consideration, nor any means for collecting its effects, nor were there then any public newspapers in the State but what were printed in Philadelphia, the provision did not reach the intention of it, and thus a good and wise intention sunk into mere form, which is generally the case when the means are not adequate to the end.

The ground work, however, of that Constitution was good and deserves to be resorted to. Every thing that Franklin was concerned in producing, merits attention. He was the wise and benevolent friend of man. Riches and honours made no alteration in his principles or his manners.

The Constitution of 1776 was conformable to the Declaration of Independence and the Declaration of Rights, which the present Constitution is not; for it makes artificial distinctions among men in the right of suffrage, which the principles of equity know nothing of; neither is it consistent with sound policy. We every day see the rich becoming poor, and those who were poor before becoming rich. Riches, therefore, having no stability, cannot and ought not to be made a criterion of rights. Man is man in every condition of life, and the varieties of fortune and misfortune are open to all.

Had the number of representatives in the legislature, established by that Constitution, been increased, and instead of their sitting together in one chamber, and debating and voting all at one time, to have divided them by lot into two equal parts and to have sat in separate chambers, the advantage would have been, that one half by not being entangled

in the first debate, nor having committed itself by voting, would be silently possessed of the arguments, for and against, of the former part, and be in a calm condition to review the whole. And instead of one chamber, or one house, or by whatever name they may be called, negating the vote of the other, which is now the case, and which admits of inconsistencies even to absurdities, to have added the votes of both chambers together and the majority of the whole to be the final decision. There would be reason in this but there is none in the present mode. The instance that occurred in the Pennsylvania Senate, in the year 1800, on the bill for choosing electors, where a small majority in that house controuled and negated a large majority in the other house, shews the absurdity of such a division of legislative power.

To know if any theory or position be true or rational, in practice, the method is, to carry it to its greatest extent; if it be not true upon the whole, or be absurd, it is so in all its parts however small. For instance,

If one house consists of two hundred members and the other fifty, which is about the proportion they are in some of the States, and if a proposed law be carried on the affirmative in the larger house with only one dissenting voice, and be negated in the smaller house by a majority of one, the event will be, that twenty-seven controul, and govern two hundred and twenty-three, which is too absurd even for argument, and totally inconsistent with the principles of representative government, which know no difference in the value and importance of its members but what arises from their virtues and talents, and not at all from the name of the house, or chamber where they sit in.

As the practice of a smaller number negating a greater is not founded in reason we must look for its origin in some other cause.

The Americans have copied it from England, and it was brought into England by the Norman Conqueror, and is derived from the ancient French practice of voting by ORDERS, of which they counted three; *the clergy* (that is, Roman Catholic clergy) *the noblesse*, (those who had titles) and *the tiers etat*, or third estate,* which included all who

* The practice of voting by *orders* in France whenever the States-General met, continued until the late Revolution. It was the present Abbe Syeyes who made the motion, in what was afterwards called the National Assembly, for abolishing the vote by *orders*, and established the rational practice of deciding by a majority of numbers.

were not of the two former orders, and which in England are called the *commons*, or *common people*, and the house in which they are represented is from thence called the *House of Commons*.

The case with the Conqueror was, that in order to complete and secure the conquest he had made, and hold the country in subjection, he cantoned it out among the chiefs of his army, to whom he gave castles, and whom he dubbed with the title of *lords*, as is before shewn. These being dependent on the Conqueror, and having a united interest with him, became the defenders of his measures, and the guardians of his assumed prerogative against the people; and when the House called the *Commons House of Parliament* began by grants and charters from the Conqueror and his successors, these lords claiming to be a distinct ORDER from the Commons, though smaller in number, held a controuling, or negating vote over them, and from hence arose the irrational practice of a smaller number negating a greater.

But what are these things to us, or why should we imitate them? We have but one ORDER in America, and that of the highest degree, the ORDER of SOVEREIGNTY, and of this ORDER every citizen is a member in his own personal right. Why then have we descended to the base imitation of inferior things? By the event of the Revolution we were put in a condition of thinking originally. The history of past ages show scarcely any thing to us but instances of tyranny and antiquated absurdities. We have copied some of them and experienced the folly of them.

* * * * *

Another subject of complaint in Pennsylvania is the judiciary, and this appears to require a thorough reform. Arbitration will of itself reform a great part, but much will remain to require amendment.

The courts of law still continue to go on, as to practice, in the same manner as when the State was a British colony. They have not yet arrived at the dignity of independence. They hobble along by the stilts and crutches of English and antiquated precedents. Their pleadings are made up of cases and reports from English law books; many of which are tyrannical, and all of them are now foreign to us. Our courts require to be domesticated, for as they are at present

* The above address being published in the American journals of the day, this break is occasioned by the Editor, not being able to obtain but three parts of four or five.

conducted, they are a dishonour to the national sovereignty. Every case in America ought to be determined on its own merits, according to American laws, and all reference to foreign adjudications prohibited. The introduction of them into American courts serves only to waste time, embarrass causes, and perplex juries. This reform alone will reduce cases to a narrow compass easily understood.

The terms used in courts of law, in sheriffs' sales, and on several other occasions in writs, and other legal proceedings, require reform. Many of those terms are Latin, and others French. The Latin terms were brought into Britain by the Romans, who spoke Latin, and who continued in Britain between four and five hundred years, from the first invasion of it by Julius Cæsar, fifty-two years before the Christian era. The French terms were brought by the Normans when they conquered England in 1066, as I have before shewn, and whose language was French.

These terms being still used in English law courts, shew the origin of those courts, and are evidence of the country having been under foreign jurisdiction. But they serve to *mystify*, by not being generally understood, and therefore they serve the purpose of what is called law, whose business is to perplex; and the courts in England put up with the disgrace of recording foreign jurisdiction and foreign conquest, for the sake of using terms which the clients and the public do not understand, and from thence to create the false belief that law is a learned science, and lawyers are learned men. The English pleaders, in order to keep up the farce of the profession, always compliment each other, though in contradiction, with the title of *my learned brother*. Two farmers or two merchants will settle cases by arbitration, when lawyers cannot settle by law. Where then is the learning of the law, or what is it good for?

It is here necessary to distinguish between *lawyer's law*, and *legislative law*. Legislative law is the law of the land, enacted by our own legislators, chosen by the people for that purpose. Lawyer's law is a mass of opinions and decisions, many of them contradictory to each other, which courts and lawyers have instituted themselves, and is chiefly made up of law reports of cases taken from English law books. The case of every man ought to be tried by the laws of his own country which he knows, and not by opinions and authorities from other countries, of which he may know nothing. A lawyer in pleading, will talk several hours about law, but it is *lawyer's law*, and not *legislative law*, that he means.

The whole of the judiciary needs reform. It is very loosely appointed in most of the States and also in the general government. The case, I suppose, has been, that the judiciary department in a Constitution has been left to the lawyers, who might be in a Convention, to form, and they have taken care to leave it loose. To say, that a judge shall hold his office during *good behaviour*, is saying nothing; for the term, *good behaviour*, has neither a legal nor a moral definition. In the common acceptation of the term it refers rather to a style of manners, than to principles, and may be applied to signify different and contradictory things. A child of good behaviour, a judge of good behaviour, a soldier of good behaviour in the field, and a dancing-master of good behaviour in his school, cannot be the same good behaviour. What then is the good behaviour of a judge?

Many circumstances in the conduct and character of a man may render him unfit to hold the office of a judge, yet not amount to cause of impeachment, which always supposes the commission of some known crime. Judges ought to be held to their duty by continual responsibility, instead of which the Constitution releases them from all responsibility, except by impeachment, from which, by the loose, undefined establishment of the judiciary, there is always a hole to creep out. In annual elections for legislators, every legislator is responsible every year, and no good reason can be given why those entrusted with the execution of the laws should not be as responsible, at stated periods, as those entrusted with the power of enacting them.

Releasing the judges from responsibility is in imitation of an act of the English Parliament for rendering the judges so far independent of what is called the Crown as not to be removable by it. The case is, that judges in England are appointed by the Crown, and are paid out of the King's civil list, as being his representatives when sitting in court; and in all prosecutions for treason and criminal offences, the King is the prosecutor. It was therefore reasonable that the judge, before whom a man was to be tried, should not be dependent for the tenure of his office on the will of the prosecutor. But this is no reason that in a Government founded on the representative system, a judge should not be responsible, and also removeable by some Constitutional mode, without the tedious and expensive formality of impeachment. We remove or turn out presidents, governors, senators, and representatives without this formality. Why then are judges, who are generally lawyers, privileged with dura-

tion? It is I suppose, because lawyers have had the formation of the judiciary part of the Constitution.

The term, "contempt of court," which has caused some agitation in Pennsylvania, is also copied from England; and in that country it means *contempt of the King's authority or prerogative in court*, because the judges appear there as his representatives, and are styled in their commissions, when they open a court, "his Majesty the King's justices."

This now undefined thing, called *contempt of court*, is derived from the Norman conquest of England, as is shewn by the French words used in England, with which proclamation for silence "on pain of imprisonment," begins, "Oyez, Oyez, Oyez."* This shews it to be of Norman origin. It is, however, a species of despotism; for contempt of court is now any thing a court imperiously pleases to call so, and then it inflicts punishment as by prerogative without trial, as in Passmore's case, which has a good deal agitated the public mind. This practice requires to be constitutionally regulated, but not by lawyers.

Much yet remains to be done in the improvement of Constitutions. The Pennsylvania Convention, when it meets, will be possessed of advantages which those that preceded it were not. The ensuing Convention will have two Constitutions before them; that of 76, and that of 90, each of which continued about fourteen years. I know no material objection against the Constitution of 76, except, that in practice, it might be subject to precipitancy; but this can be easily and effectually remedied as the annexed essay, respecting "Constitutions, Governments, and Charters," will shew. But there have been many and great objections and complaints against the present Constitution and the practice upon it, arising from the improper and unequal distribution it makes of power.

The circumstance that occurred in the Pennsylvania Senate in the year 1800, on the bill passed by the House of Representatives for choosing electors, justifies Franklin's opinion, which he gave by request of the Convention of 1776, of which he was president, respecting the propriety or impropriety of two houses negating each other. "It appears to me," said he, "like putting one horse before a cart and the other behind it, and whipping them both. If the horses are of equal strength, the wheels of the cart, like the wheels of Government, will stand still; and if the horses are strong

* Hear ye, hear ye, hear ye.

enough, the cart will be torn to pieces." It was only the moderation and good sense of the country, which did not engage in the dispute raised by the Senate, that prevented Pennsylvania being then torn to pieces by commotion.

Inequality of rights has been the cause of all the disturbances, insurrections, and civil wars, that ever happened in any country in any age of mankind. It was the cause of the American Revolution, when the English Parliament sat itself up to bind America in all cases whatsoever, and to reduce her to unconditional submission. It was the cause of the French Revolution; and also of the civil wars in England in the time of Charles and Cromwell, when the House of Commons voted the House of Lords useless.

The fundamental principle in representative Government, is, that *the majority governs*; and as it will be always happening that a man may be in the minority on one question, and in the majority on another, he obeys by the same principle that he rules. But when there are two Houses of unequal numbers, and the smaller number negating the greater, it is the minority that governs, which is contrary to the principle. This was the case in Pennsylvania in 1800.

America has the high honour and happiness of being the first nation that gave to the world the example of forming written Constitutions, by conventions elected expressly for the purpose, and of improving them by the same procedure, as time and experience shall shew necessary. Government in other nations, vainly calling themselves civilized, has been established by bloodshed. Not a drop of blood has been shed in the United States in consequence of establishing Constitutions and Governments by her own peaceful system. The silent vote, or the simple *yea* or *nay*, is more powerful than the bayonet, and decides the strength of numbers without a blow.

I have now, citizens of Pennsylvania, presented you, in good will, with a collection of thoughts and historical references condensed into a small compass, that they may circulate the more conveniently. They are applicable to the subject before you, that of calling a Convention, in the progress and completion of which I wish you success and happiness, and the honour of shewing a profitable example to the States around you and to the world.

Your's, in friendship,

THOMAS PAINE.

New Rochelle, New York,
August, 1805.

TO A GENTLEMAN AT NEW YORK.

SIR,

New Rochelle, March 20, 1806.

I WILL inform you of what I know respecting General Miranda, with whom I first became acquainted at New York about the year 1783. He is a man of talents and enterprize, a Mexican by birth, and the whole of his life has been a life of adventures.

I went to Europe from New York in April 1787, Mr. Jefferson was then minister from America to France, and Mr. Littlepage a Virginian (whom John Jay knows) was agent for the king of Poland, at Paris.

Mr. Littlepage was a young man of extraordinary talents, and I first met with him at Mr. Jefferson's house at dinner. By his intimacy with the King of Poland, to whom also he was chamberlain, he became well acquainted with the plans and projects of the Northern Powers of Europe. He told me of Miranda's getting himself introduced to the Empress Catherine of Russia, and obtaining a sum of money from her, four thousand pounds sterling; but it did not appear to me what the object was for which the money was given: it appeared as a kind of retaining fee.

After I had published the first part of the 'Rights of Man,' in England, in the year 1791, I met Miranda at the house of Turnbull and Forbes, merchants, Devonshire-square, London. He had been a little time before this in the employ of Mr. Pitt, with respect to the affair of Nootka Sound, but I did not at that time know it; and I will, in the course of this letter, inform you how this connection between Pitt and Miranda ended; for I know it of my own knowledge.

I published the second part of the 'Rights of Man' in London in February 1792, and I continued in London till I was elected a member of the French Convention, in September of that year; and went from London to Paris to take my seat in the Convention, which was to meet the 20th of that month: I arrived at Paris on the 19th.

After the Convention met Miranda came to Paris, and was appointed general of the French army, under General Dumourier; but as the affairs of that army went wrong in the beginning of the year 1793, Miranda was suspected and

was brought under arrest to Paris to take his trial. He summoned me to appear to his character, and also a Mr. Thomas Christie, connected with the house of Turnbull and Forbes. I gave my testimony as I believed, which was, that his leading object was, and had been, the emancipation of his country, Mexico, from the bondage of Spain; for I did not at that time know of his engagements with Pitt. Mr. Christie's evidence went to shew that Miranda did not come to France as a necessitous adventurer; but believed that he came from public spirited motives, and that he had a large sum of money in the hands of Turnbull and Forbes. The house of Turnbull and Forbes was then in a contract to supply Paris with flour. Miranda was acquitted.

A few days after his acquittal he came to see me, and in a few days afterwards I returned his visit. He seemed desirous of satisfying me that he was independent, and that he had money in the hands of Turnbull and Forbes. He did not tell me of his affair with old Catherine of Russia, nor did I tell him that I knew of it. But he entered into conversation with respect to Nootka Sound, and put into my hands several letters of Mr. Pitt's to him on that subject; amongst which was one that I believe he gave me by mistake, for when I had opened it and was beginning to read it, he put forth his hand and said, 'O, that is not the letter I intended;' but as the letter was short I soon got through it, and then returned it to him without making any remarks upon it.

The dispute with Spain about Nootka Sound was then compromised; and Pitt compromised with Miranda for his services by giving him twelve hundred pounds sterling, for this was the contents of the letter.

Now if it be true that Miranda brought with him a credit upon certain persons in New York for sixty thousand pounds sterling, it is not difficult to suppose from what quarter the credit came; for the opening of any proposals between Pitt and Miranda was already made by the affair of Nootka Sound.

Miranda was in Paris when Mr. Monroe arrived there as minister; and as Miranda wanted to get acquainted with him, I cautioned Mr. Monroe against him, and told him of the affair of Nootka Sound, and the twelve hundred pounds.

You are at liberty to make what use you please of this letter, and with my name to it.

THOMAS PAINE.

ANECDOTE OF LORD MALMSBURY WHEN MINISTER AT
PARIS.

Mr. Duane,

New Rochelle, April 26, 1806.

I SEE, by the English papers, that some conversations have lately taken place in Parliament in England on the subject of repealing the act that incorporated the members elected in Ireland with the Parliament elected in England, so as to form only one Parliament.

As England could not domineer Ireland more despotically than it did through the Irish Parliament, people were generally at a loss, (as well they might be) to discover any motive for that union, more especially as it was pushed with unceasing activity against all opposition. The following anecdote, which was known but to few persons, and to none, I believe in England, except the former minister, will unveil the mystery.

“When Lord Malmsbury arrived in Paris in the time of the Directory Government, to open a negociation for a peace, his credentials ran in the old style of ‘George, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, *France* and Ireland, king’—Malmsbury was informed that although the assumed title of *king of France* in his credentials would not prevent France opening a negociation, yet that no treaty of peace could be concluded until that assumed title was renounced. Pitt then hit on the Union Bill under which the assumed title of king of France was discontinued.”

THOMAS PAINE.

THE CAUSE OF THE YELLOW FEVER, AND THE MEANS
OF PREVENTING IT, IN PLACES NOT YET INFECTED
WITH IT, ADDRESSED TO THE BOARD OF HEALTH IN
AMERICA.

A GREAT deal has been written respecting the Yellow Fever. First, with respect to its causes, whether domestic or imported. Secondly, on the mode of treating it.

What I am going to suggest in this essay, is to ascertain some point to begin at, in order to arrive at the cause, and for this purpose some preliminary observations are necessary.

The Yellow Fever always begins in the lowest part of a populous mercantile town near the water, and continues there, without affecting the higher parts. The sphere, or circuit it acts in is small, and it rages most where large quantities of new ground have been made by banking out the river, for the purpose of making wharfs. The appearance and prevalence of the Yellow Fever in these places, being those, where vessels arrive from the West Indies, has caused the belief that the Yellow Fever was imported from thence: but here are two cases acting in the same place; the one, the condition of the ground at the wharfs, which being new made on the muddy and filthy bottom of the river, is different from the natural condition of the ground in the higher parts of the city, and consequently subject to produce a different kind of effluvia or vapour: the other case, is the arrival of vessels from the West Indies.

In the State of Jersey, neither of these cases has taken place; no shipping arrive there, and consequently there has been no embankments for the purpose of wharfs, and the Yellow Fever has never broke out in Jersey. This, however, does not decide the point, as to the immediate cause of the fever, but it shews that this species of fever is not common to the country in its natural state; and, I believe the same was the case in the West Indies, before embankments began, for the purpose of making wharfs, which always alter the natural condition of the ground; no old history, that I know of, mentions such a disorder as the Yellow Fever.

A person seized with the Yellow Fever in an affected

part of the town, and brought into the healthy part, or into the country, and among healthy persons, does not communicate it to the neighbourhood, or to those immediately around him: why then are we to suppose it can be brought from the West Indies, a distance of more than a thousand miles, since we see it cannot be carried from one town to another, nor from one part of a town to another, at home? Is it in the air? this question on the case, requires a minute examination. In the first place, the difference between air and wind, is the same as between a stream of water and a standing water. A stream of water, is water in motion, and wind, is air in motion. In a gentle breeze, the whole body of air, as far as the breeze extends, moves at the rate of seven or eight miles an hour; in a high wind, at the rate of seventy, eighty, or an hundred miles an hour: when we see the shadow of a cloud gliding on the surface of the ground, we see the rate at which the air moves, and it must be a good trotting horse that can keep pace with the shadow, even in a gentle breeze; consequently, a body of air, that is in and over any place of the same extent as the affected part of a city may be, will, in the space of an hour even at the moderate rate I speak of, be moved seven or eight miles to leeward, and its place, in and over the city, will be supplied by a new body of air coming from a healthy part seven or eight miles distant the contrary way, and then on in continual succession. The disorder, therefore, is not in the air considered in its natural state, and never stationary. This leads to another consideration of the case.

An impure effluvia, arising from some cause in the ground, in the manner that fermenting liquors produce an effluvia near their surface that is fatal to life, will become mixed with the air contiguous to it, and as fast as that body of air moves off, it will impregnate every succeeding body of air, however pure it may be when it arrives at the place.

The result from this state of the case, is, that the impure air, or vapour, that generates the Yellow Fever issues from the earth, that is, from the new made earth, or ground raised on the muddy and filthy bottom of the river; and which impregnates every fresh body of air that comes over the place, in like manner as air becomes heated when it approaches or passes over fire, or becomes offensive in smell when it approaches or passes over a body of corrupt vegetable or animal matter in a state of putrefaction.

The muddy bottom of rivers contains great quantities of impure, and often inflammable air, (Carburetted Hydrogen

gas) injurious to life; and which remains entangled in the mud till let loose from thence by some accident. This air is produced by the dissolution and decomposition of any combustible matter falling into the water and sinking into the mud, of which the following circumstance will serve to give some explanation.

In the fall of the year that New York was evacuated (1783) General Washington had his head-quarters at Mrs. Berrians, at Rocky-Hill, in Jersey, and I was there:—the Congress then sat at Prince-Town. We had several times been told, that the river or creek, that runs near the bottom of Rocky-Hill, and over which there is a mill, might be set on fire, for that was the term the country people used, and as General Washington had a mind to try the experiment, General Lincoln, who was also there, undertook to make preparation for it against the next evening, November 5th. This was to be done, as we were told, by disturbing the mud at the bottom of the river, and holding something in a blaze, as paper or straw, a little above the surface of the water.

Colonels Humphries and Cob were at that time Aide de Camps of General Washington, and those two gentlemen and myself got into an argument respecting the cause; their opinion was, that on disturbing the bottom of the river, some bituminous matter arose to the surface, which took fire when the light was put to it; I, on the contrary, supposed that a quantity of inflammable air was let loose, which ascended through the water, and took fire above the surface. Each party held to his opinion, and the next evening the experiment was to be made.

A scow had been stationed in the mill-dam, and General Washington, General Lincoln, and myself, and I believe Colonel Cob, (for Humphries was sick) and three or four soldiers with poles, were put on board the scow: General Washington placed himself at one end of the scow, and I at the other; each of us had a roll of cartridge paper, which we lighted and held over the water, about two or three inches from the surface, when the soldiers began disturbing the bottom of the river with the poles.

As General Washington sat at one end of the scow, and I at the other, I could see better any thing that might happen from his light, than I could from my own, over which I was nearly perpendicular. When the mud at the bottom was disturbed by the poles, the air bubbles rose fast, and I saw the fire take from General Washington's

light and descend from thence to the surface of the water, in a similar manner, as when a lighted candle is held so as to touch the smoke of a candle just blown out, the smoke will take fire, and the fire will descend and light up the candle. This was demonstrative evidence, that what was called setting the river on fire, was setting the inflammable air on fire, that arose out of the mud.

I mentioned this experiment to Mr. Rittenhouse of Philadelphia the next time I went to that city, and our opinion on the case was, that the air or vapour that issued from any combustible matter, (vegetable or otherwise) that underwent a dissolution and decomposition of its parts, either by fire or water in a confined place, so as not to blaze, would be inflammable, and would become flame whenever it came in contact with flame.

In order to determine if this was the case, we filled up the breach of a gun barrel about five or six inches with saw-dust, and the upper part with dry sand to the top, and after spiking up the touch hole put the breach into a smith's furnace, and kept it red hot, so as to consume the saw-dust; the sand of consequence would prevent any blaze. We applied a lighted candle to the mouth of the barrel; as the first vapour that flew off would be humid, it extinguished the candle; but after applying the candle three or four times, the vapour that issued out began to flash; we then tied a bladder over the mouth of the barrel, which the vapour soon filled, and then tying a string round the neck of the bladder, above the muzzle, took the bladder off.

As we could not conveniently make experiments upon the vapour, while it was in the bladder, the next operation was, to get it into a phial; for this purpose, we took a phial of about three or four ounces, filled it with water, put a cork slightly into it, and introducing it into the neck of the bladder, worked the cork out, by getting hold of it through the bladder, into which the water then emptied itself, and the air in the bladder ascended into the phial; we then put the cork into the phial, and took it from the bladder. It was now in a convenient condition for experiment.

We put a lighted match into the phial, and the air or vapour in it blazed up in the manner of a chimney on fire: we extinguished it two or three times, by stopping the mouth of the phial, and putting the lighted match to it again; it repeatedly took fire, till the vapour was spent, and the phial became filled with atmospheric air.

These two experiments, that in which some combustible substance (branches and leaves of trees) had been decomposed by water, in the mud; and this, where the decomposition had been produced by fire, without blazing, shews, that a species of air injurious to life, when taken into the lungs, may be generated from substances, which in themselves are harmless.

It is by means similar to these, that charcoal, which is made by fire without blazing, emits a vapour destructive to life. I now come to apply these cases, and the reasoning deduced therefrom, to account for the cause of the Yellow Fever.*

First:—The Yellow Fever is not a disorder produced by the climate naturally, or it would always have been here in the hot months; the climate is the same now, as it was fifty, or an hundred years ago; there was no Yellow Fever then, and it is only within the last twelve years, that such a disorder has been known to America.

Secondly:—The low grounds on the shores of the rivers, at the cities, where the Yellow Fever is annually generated, and continues about three months without spreading, were not subject to that disorder in their natural state, or the Indians would have forsaken them; whereas, they were the parts most frequented by the Indians in all seasons of the year, on account of fishing. The result from these cases is, that the Yellow Fever is produced by some new circumstance not common to the country in its natural state, and the question is, what is that new circumstance?

It may be said, that every thing done by the white people, since their settlement in the country such as building towns, clearing lands, levelling hills, and filling up vallies, is a new circumstance, but the Yellow Fever does not accompany any of these new circumstances. No alteration made on the dry land produces the Yellow Fever, we must therefore look to some other new circumstance, and we come now to those that have taken place between wet and dry, between land and water.

The shores of the rivers at New York, and also at Philadelphia, have on account of the vast increase of commerce,

* The Author does not mean to infer that the inflammable air, or Carburetted Hydrogen gas, is the cause of the Yellow Fever; but that perhaps it enters into some combination with Miasm generated in low grounds, which produces the disease.

and for the sake of making wharfs, undergone great and rapid alterations from their natural state, within a few years; and it is only in such parts of the shores, where those alterations have taken place, that the Yellow Fever has been produced. The parts where little or no alteration has been made, either on the East or North River, and which continue in their natural state, or nearly so, do not produce the Yellow Fever—the fact therefore points to the cause.

Besides several new streets gained from the river by embankment, there are upwards of eighty new wharfs made since the war, and the much greater part within the last ten or twelve years; the consequence of which has been, that great quantities of filth or combustible matter deposited in the muddy bottom of the river contiguous to the shore, and which produced no ill effect while exposed to the air, and washed twice every twenty-four hours by the tide water, have been covered over several feet deep with new earth, and pent up, and the tide excluded. It is in these places, and in these only, that the Yellow Fever is produced.

Having thus shewn, from the circumstances of the case, that the cause of the Yellow Fever is in the place where it makes its appearance, or rather, in the pernicious vapour issuing therefrom, I go to shew a method of constructing wharfs, where wharfs are yet to be constructed, as on the shore on the East River, at Corlender's Hook, and also on the North River, that will not occasion the Yellow Fever, and which may also point out a method of removing it from places already infected with it. Instead then of embanking out the river and raising solid wharfs of earth on the mud bottom of the shore: the better method would be to construct wharfs on arches, built of stone; the tide will then flow in under the arch, by which means the shore, and the muddy bottom will be washed and kept clean, as if they were in their natural state without wharfs.

When wharfs are constructed on the shore lengthways, that is without cutting the shore up into slips, arches can easily be turned, because, arches joining each other lengthways, serve as buttments to each other, but when the shore is cut up into slips there can be no buttments; in this case wharfs can be formed on stone pillars, or wooden piles planked over on the top. In either of these cases, the space underneath will be commodious shelter or harbour for small boats, which can go in and come out always, except at low water, and be secure from storms and injuries.

This method, besides preventing the cause of the Yellow Fever, which I think it will, will render the wharfs more productive than the present method, because of the space preserved within the wharf.

I offer no calculation of the expence of constructing wharfs on arches or piles; but on a general view, I believe they will not be so expensive as the present method. A very great part of the expence of making solid wharfs of earth, is occasioned by the carriage of materials, which will be greatly reduced by the methods here proposed, and still more so were the arches to be constructed of cast iron blocks. I suppose that one ton of cast iron blocks, would go as far in the construction of an arch, as twenty tons of stone.

If, by constructing wharfs in such a manner, that the tide water can wash the shore and bottom of the river contiguous to the shore, as they are washed in their natural condition, the Yellow Fever, can be prevented from generating in places where wharfs are yet to be constructed, it may point out a method of removing it, at least by degrees from places already infected with it, which will be, by opening the wharfs in two or three places in each, and letting the tide water pass through; the parts opened can be planked over, so as not to prevent the use of the wharf.

In taking up and treating this subject, I have considered it as belonging to natural philosophy, rather than medicinal art: and therefore I say nothing about the treatment of the disease, after it takes place; I leave that part to those whose profession it is to study it.

THOMAS PAINE.

New York, June 27, 1806.

ON LOUISIANA, AND EMISSARIES.

THE latest news from New Orleans, in a letter from Major Claiborne, dated New Orleans, August 29th, says, "It is now within a few minutes of the time when letters must go to the Post-Office. I have waited to give you some information from Natchitoches, in case any should arrive, but no dispatches are received from Governor Claiborne, *nor do we hear any thing more of (the Spanish) Governor Taxos and his nine hundred men.*

The city of New Orleans is in perfect tranquillity, and the inhabitants thereof, and of the country (Louisiana) continue to enjoy good health."

Carpenter's Emissary Paper asserted a few days ago, that terrible discontents existed in Louisiana, and that Buonaparte would avail himself thereof, and seize upon that country. The man who asserts and circulates false reports ought to be prosecuted. The press is free for the discussion of principle but not for lying.

Pierpont Edwards has taken the liars and alarmists of Connecticut in hand, and I hope he will not let those of New York escape.

We have in all our cities and sea-ports, a considerable number of men, chiefly dry good merchants, who are parties or agents of British merchants; these men want to embroil us with France and Spain, and there is no lying they will stick at to promote it; but they had better pack themselves off, for if Buonaparte should come, as they predict, and ought to be afraid of, he will trim their jackets, and make them pay the expence; and as to Carpenter, his nose will go to the grindstone. But the fellow, if caught, will turn informer and impeach his employers. "Here," he will say, "is my list of subscribers, fall on them. I will shew you where they live, and where their property is.

The continual abuse and blackguardism in Carpenter's paper against France and Spain ought not to be permitted. If he must do it, let him go back to his own country and do it. France has always behaved with honour to the United States, and we are perfectly easy on that score. It was by her aid we drove off the British invaders in the revolutionary

war, and if she has a mind to come and drive off the scoundrels and British emissaries that seek to embroil the United States and France with each other, we will not fortify New York to prevent it. Let those pay the expence of fortifying who expose it to danger. The cheapest way to fortify New York, will be to banish the scoundrels that infest it. When we are a peaceable people, and mind our own business, and let other nations and governments alone, we shall not stand in need of fortifications; but when we give protection and encouragement to foreign emissaries we must expect trouble.

It is but a little time since the British Ministry sent several of its emissaries to some of the states of Germany, to carry on conspiracies against France, and when the French Government found it out they sent an armed force and seized those emissaries. Two of the English ministers resident at those German states had to fly the country. The English minister, Drake, who was at Munich, was one of them. It is not because New York is more remote from France than those states were, that conspiracies can be carried on with greater safety, or ought to be permitted. Two or three thousand French troops would soon scour New York, and carry off a cargo of conspirators. The Feds who encourage Carpenter (this emissary's name is Cullen) are cutting their own throats.

This man, Carpenter, for this is the name he goes by at present, is now a professed British emissary. He has been running over the world in quest of adventures, and he has taken up his residence at New York to carry on his treason against the peace of the United States. In the height of his folly, madness, and ignorance, he has proposed in two or three of his late papers (beginning with that of Oct. 6th) that the United States should join England in a war against France and Spain, and enter into an alliance with her. A man never turns a rogue but he turns a fool, and this is always the case with emissaries.

Does not this foolish fellow see that all those powers on the Continent of Europe that formed alliances with England have been ruined? The late coalition against France consisted of five hundred thousand men, exclusive of England, and every one of the powers concerned in that coalition has had to repent it. The Emperor of Germany is dismissed from his rank as Emperor. The Emperor of Russia has been beaten into humiliation and peace. The dominions of the house of Austria have been reduced to a narrow compass, and the remaining part obliged to pay tribute. The

King of Naples has lost his dominions. The Elector of Hanover has lost his Electorate.

These are the fruits of forming alliances with England, yet with all these examples of ruin staring us in the face, this emissary of corruption, Carpenter or Callen, or whatever his travelling name may be, wants the United States to run their head into the fiery furnace of a war on the part of England. This emissary had better pack himself off, for we have those among us who know him.

THOMAS PAINE.

Oct. 11, 1806.

A CHALLENGE TO THE FEDERALISTS TO DECLARE THEIR PRINCIPLES.

THE old names of *Whig* and *Tory* have given place to the later names of *Republicans* and *Federalists*; by contraction *Feds*. The word *Republican* contains some meaning though not very positive, except that it is the opposite of monarchy; but the word *Federalist* contains none. It is merely a name without a meaning. It may apply to a gang of thieves federalized to commit robbery, or to any other kind of association. When men form themselves into political parties, it is customary with them to make a declaration of their principles. But the *Feds* do not declare what their principles are; from which we may infer, that either they have no principles, and are mere *snarlers*, or that their principles are too bad to be told. Their object, however, is to get possession of power; and their caution is to conceal the use they will make of it. Such men ought not to be trusted.

The *Republicans*, on the contrary, are open and frank, in declaring their principles, for they are of a nature that requires no concealment. The more they are published and understood the more they are approved.

The principles of the *Republicans* are to support the representative system of government, and to leave it an inheritance to their children, to cultivate peace and civil manners with all nations, as the surest means of avoiding wars, and never to embroil themselves in the wars of other nations, nor in foreign coalitions—to adjust and settle all differences

that might arise with foreign nations by explanation and negotiation in preference to the sword, if it can be done—to have no more taxes than are necessary for the decent support of Government—to pay every man for his service, and to have no more servants than are wanted.

The Republicans hold, as a fixed incontrovertible principle, that sovereignty resides in the great mass of the people, and that the persons they elect are the representatives of that sovereignty itself. They know of no such thing as hereditary Government, or of men born to govern them; for, besides the injustice of it, it never can be known before they are born whether they will be wise men or fools.

The Republicans now challenge the Federalists to declare their principles. But as the Federalists have never yet done this, and most probably never will, we have a right to infer what their principles are from the conduct they have exhibited.

The Federalists opposed the suppression of the internal taxes laid on in the stupid, expensive, and unprincipled administration of John Adams; though it was at that time evident, and experience has since confirmed it for a fact, that those taxes answered no other purpose than to make offices for the maintainance of a number of their dependents at the expence of the public. From this conduct of theirs we infer, that could the Federalists get again into power, they would again load the country with internal taxes.

The Federalists, while in power, proposed and voted for a standing army, and in order to induce the country to consent to a measure so unpopular in itself, they raised and circulated the fabricated falsehood that France was going to send an army to invade the United States; and to prevent being detected in this lie, and to keep the country in ignorance, they passed a law to prohibit all commerce and intercourse with France. As the pretence for which a standing army was to be raised had no existence, not even in their own brain, for it was a wilful lie, we have a right to infer, that the object of the Federal faction in raising that army, was to overthrow the representative system of Government, and to establish a Government of war and taxes on the corrupt principles of the English Government; and that, could they get again into power, they would again attempt the same thing.

As to the inconsistencies, contradictions, and falsehoods of the Federal faction, they are too numerous to be counted. When Spain shut up the port of New Orleans, so as to ex-

clude from it the citizens of the United States, the Federal faction in Congress bellowed out for war, and the Federal papers echoed the cry. The faction, both in and out of Congress, declared New Orleans to be of such vast importance, that without it the Western States would be ruined. But mark the change! No sooner was the cession of New Orleans and the territory of Louisiana obtained by peaceable négociation, and for many times less expence than a war, with all its uncertainties of success, would have cost, than this self-same faction gave itself the lie, and represented the place as of no value. According to them, it was worth fighting for at a great expence, but not worth having quietly at a comparatively small expence. It has been said of a thief that he had rather steal a purse than find one, and the conduct of the Federalists on this occasion corresponds with that saying. But all these inconsistencies become understood, when we recollect that the leaders of the Federal faction are an English faction, and that they follow, like a satellite, the variations of their principal. Their continual aim has been and still is, to involve the United States in a war with France and Spain. This is an English scheme, and the papers of the faction give every provocation that words can give, to provoke France to hostilities. The bugbear held up by them is, that Buonaparte will attack Louisiana. This is an invention of the British emissary, Cullen, alias Carpenter, and the association of the Federalists, at least some of them, with this miserable emissary, involves their own characters in suspicion.

The Republicans, as before said, are open, bold, and candid in declaring their principles. They are no skulkers. Let, then, the Federalists declare theirs.

COMMON SENSE.

Oct. 17, 1806.

LIBERTY OF THE PRESS.

The Author of the following Paper never writes on principle without communicating to the Public something which, if not new, is told in a new way. The Liberty of the Press is a subject of the first importance. He would gratify me, and I have no doubt render an essential service to the community, by publishing at large his thoughts upon it. Cheetham, of Oct. 20, 1806.

Of the term Liberty of the Press.

THE writer of this remembers a remark made to him by Mr. Jefferson concerning the English newspapers which at that time 1787, while Mr. Jefferson was Minister at Paris, were most vulgarly abusive. The remark applies with equal force to the Federal papers of America. The remark was, that "the licentiousness of the press produces the same effect as the restraint of the press was intended to do. If the restraint, said he, was to prevent things being told, and the licentiousness of the press prevents things being believed when they are told." We have in this state an evidence of the truth of this remark. The number of Federal papers in the city and State of New-York are more than five to one to the number of Republican papers, yet the majority of the elections, go always against the Federal papers, which is demonstrative evidence that the licentiousness of those papers are destitute of credit.

Whoever has made observations on the characters of nations will find it generally true, that the manners of a nation, or of a party, can be better ascertained from the character of its press than from any other public circumstance. If its press is licentious, its manners are not good. Nobody believes a common liar, or a common defamer.

Nothing is more common with printers, especially of Newspapers, than the continual cry of the *Liberty of the Press*, as if because they are printers they are to have more privileges than other people. As the term "*Liberty of the Press*" is adopted in this country without being understood I will

state the origin of it, and show what it means. The term comes from England and the case was as follows:

Prior to what is in England called *the revolution*, which was in 1688, no work could be published in that country without first obtaining the permission of an officer appointed by the government for inspecting works intended for publication. The same was the case in France, except that in France there were forty who were called *censors*, and in England there was but one called *Impremateur*.

At the revolution the office of *Impremateur* was abolished and as works could then be published without first obtaining the permission of the government officer, the press was, in consequence of that abolition, said to be free, and it was from this circumstance that the term *Liberty of the Press* arose. The press, which is a tongue to the eye, was then put exactly in the case of the human tongue. A man does not ask liberty before hand to say something he has a mind to say, but he becomes answerable afterwards for the atrocities he may utter. In like manner, if a man makes the press utter atrocious things he becomes as answerable for them as if he had uttered them by word of mouth. Mr. Jefferson has said in his inaugural speech, that "*error of opinion might be tolerated when reason was left free to combat it.*" This is sound philosophy in cases of error. But there is a difference between error and licentiousness.

Some lawyers in defending their clients, for the generality of lawyers like Swiss soldiers will fight on either side, have often given their opinion of what they defined the liberty of the press to be. One said it was this; another said it was that, and so on, according to the case they were pleading. Now these men ought to have known that the term, *liberty of the press*, arose from a FACT, the abolition of the office of *Imprimateur*, and that opinion has nothing to do in the case. The term refers to the fact of printing *free from prior restraint*, and not at all to the matter printed whether good or bad. The public at large, or in case of prosecution, a jury of the country will be the judges of the matter.

COMMON SENSE.

Oct. 19, 1806.

THE EMISSARY CULLEN, OTHERWISE CARPENTER.

IN Cullen's emissary paper clandestinely entitled "The People's Friend," of October, is a piece signed *Hamilton*, in which several notorious falsifications are made from a publication of mine, entitled *Communication*, in the (New York) *American Citizen*, of October 11, and the falsifications thus made are imposed upon the public as literal extracts from that communication.

On Saturday, October 18, I made a written copy of those falsifications, and desired a friend* of mine to call on Cullen, or Carpenter, or whatever his travelling name may be, and read the said falsifications to him, and also a note written by myself in my own name, asking him if he was the writer of those falsifications, and of the piece signed *Hamilton*, from which I had copied them, or to declare who the writer of them was.

The gentleman who undertook to see Carpenter upon this business called at his (Carpenter's) printing-office the next day, but could get no intelligence of him. He then left word with the person in the office that he would call again the next day, Monday, and that he had something to communicate to Mr. Carpenter. The gentleman called accordingly, but Carpenter was not to be found. He left the same message for the next day, Tuesday, and called the third time, but Carpenter was not to be found. He then inquired of the persons in the office who appeared to belong to it, where Carpenter lived or lodged. They said they did not know, but they believed it was a good way off. They also told him he might leave his message with them; but as the gentleman's business was to see Carpenter, and to read a message to him from me, and as he found after calling three times that Carpenter kept himself obscured, he came away, and I desired him to call no more.

An emissary is always a skulking character. His business is lying and deceiving. He shuns the public, and is afraid that every inquiry about him is for the purpose of apprehending him.

The publication of mine, entitled *Communication*, in the *American Citizen* of October 11, which Cullen, or Car-

* Mr. Walter Morton.

penter, in his paper of October 23, has falsified, what was written to impress on the mind of the people of New York, some apprehension of the danger to which they might expose themselves and the city by giving protection and encouragement to the emissary of one belligerent nation to the injury of another belligerent nation.

The United States profess to be a neutral nation, and as such she cannot harbour an emissary of either of the belligerent nations. If that emissary be demanded by the party injured, the nation harbouring him must give him up, or take the consequence. Nations do not settle their disputes by law-suits; for there is no court to try such disputes in. They complain first of some real or supposed injury, and if it is not explained or redressed by the Government they complain to, they redress themselves; for nations, with respect to each other, are like individuals in a state of nature. We have no laws respecting emissaries, and therefore emissaries are a sort of *outlaws*, that must take just what fare or fate they meet with. They are not entitled to protection. They violate, like spies, the laws of hospitality, and expose to danger the place that harbours them.

In the piece entitled Communication, before spoken of, I stated that the British Ministry sent emissaries to some of the States of Germany to carry on conspiracies against France, and that when the French Government found it out, they sent an armed force and seized those emissaries, and that two of the English Ministers resident at those German States had to fly the country. Drake, the English Minister at Munich, was one of them. "It is not," said I, "because New York is more remote from France than those States were that conspiracies can be carried on with greater safety, or ought to be permitted. Two or three thousand French troops would soon scour New York and *carry off a cargo of conspirators.*" Carpenter, among other falsifications, has falsified this passage, which was a caution against the danger of harbouring him, and *made it into an invitation for two or three thousand French troops to come over and plunder the "merchants."* If Carpenter should be prosecuted and convicted of *lying*, he cannot complain his sentence is hard. But *lying* is so naturally the mother tongue of an emissary, that *truth* is to him like a foreign language. The cases I stated with respect to emissaries sent by the British Ministry to Germany ought to have put the Federalists of New York on their guard, for their own safety sake, not to countenance or encourage Carpenter. This

was the more necessary for the men calling themselves Federalists to do, because their own political character is very doubtful. They have never declared what their principles are, or for what purpose they are federalized. Their language is abuse instead of argument; and as far as their conduct discovers their motives, for as to principle they have none, their leaders are an English faction disaffected to the peace of the United States.

Carpenter came to the United States about the same time that Pitt, whose meanness was equal to his ignorance, sent his emissaries into Germany. Carpenter is the successor of Porcupine, he is his equal in blackguardism but not in wit. The one had talents, the other is a fool that has not talents enough to be a knave. I am not entering into a contest with this emissary. I am exposing him, and putting the Federalists, or rather those who have been deceived by that faction, on their guard against him, and having done so *I leave them*. The Republicans have nothing to fear. They are not the abettors of conspiracies against a friendly power.

THOMAS PAINE.

Oct. 28, 1806.

COMMUNICATION ON CULLEN.

As it happens that Duane, the Editor of the Philadelphia Aurora, knows the emissary Cullen, who goes by the name of Carpenter, and is the Editor of a paper in New York, which, emissary like, he calls the *People's Friend*, I send you some extracts from the Aurora of October 28, respecting this emissary. The extracts are as follows:—

“Two of the Anglo-Federal Editors of New York have fallen upon their new associate, Cullen, (who calls himself Carpenter.) Cullen has *let out* his English agency too openly, and Coleman tells him so—he does not blame Cullen for wishing or endeavouring to promote an alliance, offensive and defensive, with England, but for letting the thing out so openly, and thereby opposing the feelings and interests of the country, the worst effect of which he considers to be the ruin of the Anglo-Federal party. The New York Commercial Advertiser is also very hard on Cullen's English devotion, and fairly takes the ground in opposition to this English emissary. Cullen feels it, and comes forth in

an inflated palaver. He says, that his departure from England was owing to a *miscarriage*, but what kind of a miscarriage he has not said.

“ Cullen roars out lustily about his personal deportment, of which he knows the Editor of this paper (the Aurora) could give a very humorous account if he were disposed to indulge in private anecdote.

“ Perhaps the city of Calcutta never exhibited so dirty and debauched a character as this now delicate Mr. Cullen, alias Carpenter. This Cullen, with whom the writer of this article (Duane) never held intercourse in India, but whom he frequently saw and pitied in the condition hinted at, addressed himself to the editor of this paper (the Aurora) in the gallery of the English House of Commons, in the winter of 1795, the editor of this paper (the Aurora) being then a reporter for a spirited paper called the Telegraph. A gentleman who also reported for one of the public prints, seeing this Cullen in conversation with the present editor of this paper (the Aurora) gave the following friendly hint. ‘ Do you know that man Cullen?’ I never had any personal acquaintance with him, I have seen him and heard much about him in Calcutta. ‘ Let me tell you (replied the gentleman) that if you cultivate that man’s acquaintance you must relinquish your present acquaintance, for none of the respectable writers for the public papers will associate with him!’ The hint was not at all necessary; and the whole of the discourse (meaning the discourse with Cullen) consisted in telling the editor of this paper (the Aurora) his name, and that he was the same person who had been formerly at Calcutta. This (says the editor of the Aurora) is the modest character (meaning Cullen, now Carpenter) who talks of delicacy and veracity, like Mother Cole of religion and chastity. [N. B. Mother Cole is the hypocritical old bawd spoken of in Foote’s comedy of the Minor.]

“ There is not (continues the Aurora) more than a slight shade of difference between Cullen and Coleman—they both hold the same maxims in politics, for principles they have none, and the true foundation of their bickering is, that the New York portion of the *million* which Cobbett (that is, Porcupine) says is expended by England in America will not be sufficient to compensate so many competitors.”

That the Federal faction associated with the emissary *Cullen* is proved by their advertising their nomination of

charter officers in his paper. They now begin to cast him off. Two of the Federal editors, Coleman and Lewis, have each of them published against him. How is this change to be accounted for? For every change must have a motive.

A writer in the *American Citizen*, of October 28, under the signature of "A Republican," supposes the cause to be jealousy of Cullen as their literary rival; but there could be no occasion for this, for Cullen is but a poor creature. The *Philadelphia Aurora*, of the 28th, concludes it to be a quarrel about the division of the spoil, that is, about the division of the million pounds sterling, which Cobbett (Porcupine) says, the English Government expends in America. The more fool they for doing so—for though the generality of newspaper printers may be bought or hired to print any thing, the farmers, who are the main stay of the country, care nothing about the clamour of printers, nor about the ravings of anonymous scribblers. These things serve them to laugh at. The press is become too common to be credited, unless the writer be known.

But without supposing any other cause why the Federalists have thrown off Cullen, the case is, that the project which this emissary went upon, that of an alliance offensive and defensive with Britain, would have been the ruin of the merchants, the greater part of whom are of the Federal faction. These men, though ignorant in politics, have, from habit, some talent for speculation; and they could not but see, unless they were stone-blind, that if such an alliance was formed, the whole of the carrying trade would be lost at once, for the United States after that alliance, would no longer be a neutral nation, nor be considered or treated as such. And as men when they begin to think do not stop at the first thought, for thought begets thought, they would soon see that the trade to Bourdeaux, which is greater than the trade to London would be lost also; and by thinking a little farther, they would discover that Amsterdam and all the ports of the Continent of Europe would be shut against American vessels as they are now shut against the English. Allies must share the same fate.

Whether Coleman and Lewis saw this before the faction to which they belong discovered it, I leave to be settled among themselves. They might also apprehend that the continual abuse and blackguardism in Cullen's infamous paper against the French nation, the French government, and the French minister at Washington, could not long, and would not always pass unnoticed.

Nov. 5, 1806.

COMMON SENSE.

FEDERALISTS BEGINNING TO REFORM.

THERE is some hope that the Federalists are beginning to reform, they have already descended from the high vice of *direct lying*, and have taken up with the humble vice of only asking *lying questions*. That this reformation is already began, the New York Evening Post, and some other Federal papers, and a quid Federal paper in Philadelphia have shewn, by their putting the following *lying* questions to Thomas Paine.

“Do you know any thing of a certain memorial transmitted to the Executive Directory of the then French Republic, by an American citizen, then in France, inviting them to send over a powerful army to revolutionize America. The memorial, stating among other inducements, that there was a French party and an English party in the United States, and that the army would be joined by the French party here, immediately on its arrival?”

“Do you know that his memorial made a deep impression on the minds of the Directory, and that it was referred to Citizen Pichon, late Charge des Affaires in the United States?”

“Do you know that it was with great difficulty that the Directory were induced to give up the idea of revolutionizing America, nor did they relinquish it till they were well *assured* [pray who assured them] that the citizens of all parties would unite and oppose an [any] invading army whatever?”

“Do you know [here follows a long space filled up with stars, thus ***] but how should you be acquainted with any of these things; besides, three queries at a time may be as many as you can well answer?”

Asking a lying question is a symptom of reformation in the Federalists, because it is not so bad as telling a lie, but the danger is, they will fall into a relapse. As their recovery from the dreadful state they have been in is interesting to the public, it will be proper to publish now and then a bulletin of their state of health.

As a lying question may sometimes be put to shame by a true question about something that is true, I ask those quidnuncs, if John Adams, when he and the Fed. Congress of

that day passed the law for annulling the treaty with France, paid the six millions of livres to France, which Colonel John Laurens and Thomas Paine brought from France to Boston, in August, 1781, two millions and a half of which was in silver money, and lodged in the Bank at Philadelphia, of which Thomas Willing was then President; the rest was in clothing and military stores sufficient to load a ship and brig, besides the French frigate that brought the money.

The case is there has been a race of self-conceited Federal ingrates, started up since "*the times that tried men's souls,*" that knows nothing about those times. The writer of this, whom every body knows, could tell many more things if he was not restrained by prudence; but the foolish Federalists have no prudence. They blunder on, and force out explanations that prudence requires to be concealed.

C———N S———.

Nov. 10, 1806.

TO A FRIEND TO PEACE.

The American Citizen of Nov. 5, says, "There appeared in The People's Friend (the paper of the emissary Cullen, alias Carpenter) of yesterday, in the Commercial Advertiser, and the Evening Post, a two column essay signed A Friend to Peace, which from first to last of it is a bitter invective against the National Administration for not fortifying the port of New York. "This Essay, written by some Federal hand, most probably by Mr. King, made its appearance the same Morning, in his Excellency's quid paper, the Morning Chronicle. See the People's Friend and Morning Chronicle of yesterday.

THE first remark that offers itself upon this subject is the choice which the writer or writers of the fore-mentioned two column essay made of the newspaper in which their piece appeared. They chose for that purpose the paper of the emissary Cullen, alias Carpenter, whose paper is continually filled in the first place with abuse and blackguardism against the national administration, to which the proposed address of the Federal faction for fortifying the port of New York is to be addressed, which shews that this proposed

address is a mere trick for the purpose of amusing the people. In the second place, the paper of this emissary, whom the Anglo-Federal faction protects, for it is they who protect them and not the people, is crammed with the most vulgar and outrageous abuse against the French nation, the French government, the French minister at Washington; and now this emissary, and those who associate with him are crying out to the citizens of all other States to be at the expence of fortifying New York against the apprehended consequences of their own abuse, for that is the only danger to which the place is exposed.

The people of Boston, of Philadelphia, of Baltimore, of Charleston, and other commercial places, all which are approachable by ships of war, do not call on New York to be at the expence of fortifying their town; why then does a faction in New York call on them? The answer is, that those places though they have their local disputes, do not harbour an emissary of one belligerent nation against another belligerent nation, and a Federal faction in New York does.

The faction says, in their fore-mentioned address, that "among the most important duties of Government is the application of the public funds to the means of security against foreign invasion and *insult*." But it is the faction itself that gives the *insult* by their continually insulting the French nation and government, and now they want to be protected against the apprehended consequences of that insult. It is an insult to France to harbour the emissary Cullen, alias Mac Cullen, alias Carpenter, for he has passed by all these names, and it would be an insult to England to harbour a French emissary. A neutral nation violates its neutrality when it harbours the emissary of any belligerent nation. It was the doing of this that was the cause of the overthrow of Switzerland. Basle, in Switzerland, was the harbour of British emissaries.

If Rufus King is the writer of the forementioned foolish piece, for it is tediously and foolishly written, he must know, for he has been (God knows!) a foreign minister himself, that it is an injunction on every foreign minister to transmit a weekly account to his government, if the opportunity offers, of every thing that passes in the nation to which he is sent, that has reference to the interest of the nation he represents. The movements, therefore, of the Anglo-Federal faction in New York, will of consequence be known to the French government, but, at the same time, that government will see,

by the opposition made to those movements, that they are the work of a vulgar and despicable faction, and not of the people. And so far as the writer of this (who is the same person who wrote the pamphlet *Common Sense*, the beginning of January, 1776, and the several numbers of the *Crisis* during that war) has made an opposition to those movements, and distinguished between the faction and the people, he has been the friend of the people. As to the faction itself, *Thomas Paine* cares nothing about it; but he has been civil enough to warn it of its danger. If Rufus King, in case he is the writer of the piece in Cullen's paper of November 4, and in the *Morning Chronicle* of the same day, will say in direct terms what he there insinuates indirectly, that *Thomas Paine invited two or three thousand French troops to plunder the city*, Thomas Paine will honour Rufus King with a prosecution for LYING. A faction must be in a lamentable condition indeed, when it is obliged to seek refuge in lying. It ought to recollect that nothing is more easy than to tell a lie, and nothing more difficult than to support the lie after it is told.

But all this affectation about fortifying New York is a mere electioneering Federal bubble. Why did they not think of it in the administration of John Adams, or in that of Washington? Why is it made a subject at *this* time, and was not at *that* time? New York is in no more danger *now* than it was *then*, nor than any other commercial town or city of the Union is in, except it be the danger the faction brings upon it by harbouring and encouraging an emissary of one belligerent nation against another.

But supposing for the sake of supposition, that the other States would agree to be at the expence of fortifying New York, which is next to certain they will not, for all the Atlantic States have commercial towns of their own, how, I ask is New York to be fortified, for I deny the practicability of fortifying it? It is nature more than art that renders places defensible, and the situation of New York does not admit of defence. Where any foreign power disposed to attack it, they would not attack it in front by ships of war. They would pass the city either on the East river, or the North river, or both, and land their troops some miles above the city, and march down upon it, or they would come down the East river for that purpose, or they would land on the East shore of Long Island, and march across the island and pass the East river in boats they would bring with them. If the Federal faction will exhibit their plan of

defence, if they have any, the writer of this will shew them the absurdity of it, for he believes that he knows more, because he has seen more of fortified places than they have.

The case is, that New York is the worst situation for defence that could be chosen. The original plan for building the city was at Harlaem, which is a better situation both for commerce and defence than the point of the island is where the city now stands. The waters of the North river and the East river, by means of the river at Kings-bridge, unite at Harlaem, and the market would be seven or eight miles nearer the country than it now is.

COMMON SENSE.

Nov. 13, 1806.

NOTIFICATIONS RESPECTING THE IMPOSTOR CULLEN,
ALIAS M'CULLEN, ALIAS CARPENTER, THE ASSOCIATE
OF THE FEDERALISTS OF NEW YORK.

IN former communications respecting this impostor, I mentioned that Duane, the editor of the Philadelphia Aurora, knew him both in England and in India. Before I state Duane's further account of him I will relate what I have been told of him in this city, New York.

This man arrived in this city (New York) about four years ago and lodged at a house in which a friend of mine then was. Cullen at that time passed by the name of Mac Cullen, and as it often happens to men of his description that when the liquor is *in* the wit is *out*, he often let himself out very foolishly. He vauntingly said he had been offered great sums of money by the English ministry not to write against them. He went to his room one day when he was in his capers, and dressed himself in an English regimental uniform, and came to shew himself. [N. B. He has been a regimental deputy pay-master, and is the son of Cullen the box keeper of Crow Street Theatre, Dublin.]

In his journey from New York he called on Duane at Philadelphia, to sell him some types, and desired Duane to conceal his name and not to expose him. Duane replied, (see the Aurora of Nov. 1st.) "As to revealing your secret you have no right to impose secrecy on me. At the same time it will depend on yourself to furnish a motive for silence or publicity on the subject; and *that* will depend entirely

upon the object of your coming to this country, and the course you mean to pursue in it."

Cullen. "My purpose is to have no concern with party or politics. I wish to purchase a snug farm near Washington if I can, and to occupy my leisure in literary pursuits, totally distant from politics with which I have done for ever."

Duane. "In such a case, I can have no motive for interfering with you or your name—but let me observe that from the knowledge which I have of you and your political connections in England I should be very apt to suspect that you came to this country with very different views."

Cullen. "By no means. I have done with politics for ever."

Duane. "If you have come to this country for the purpose you say, and I shall not dispute it unless good reasons appear to the contrary; if you are not come here as an enemy to civil liberty, as an *emissary of the English minister* (meaning Pitt who sent emissaries into Germany) and do not pursue the same course of politics here that you did in London, your secret shall be kept; but let me tell you, that if you attempt to interfere in the political concerns of this country, or attempt to attack the principles of the government, I shall consider myself not only bound to expose you, but to present you to the world in the most open and unreserved manner."

Duane bought the types and here the conversation ended.

Duane then continues his account of this emissary by saying, that "he (*Cullen*) was in the pay of the official paper of the British treasury—that *Windham*, the patron of *Porcupine*, was his patron—that his name is *Cullen* and not *Carpenter* and that he is an Irishman, but an advocate of England (meaning the oppressions of England over Ireland.) A man, continues *Duane*, so branded with infamy may be worthy if Federal protection and countenance, but the American nation being thus explicitly apprised of the character of this emissary will be able at once to value his writings and the views of his supporters."

Here ends *Duane's* account of him in the *Aurora* of November 1st.

In the *Aurora* of the 6th, *Duane* renews the subject, "It is, says he, an act of public justice to pursue this fellow *Cullen*, alias *Carpenter*, through all his windings. The countenancing such an impostor is a stigma on society; and the maintenance of him in one of our capital cities (*New York*) is a libel on the country, its morals, and its justice. While this

man Cullen edited the Charleston Courier we rarely noticed him; but his conduct there became such that it drew forth from some person well informed, a portraiture of the man. His departure soon followed.

“ His course since he has been put in possession of a paper at New York, we have watched, because that city is the chief rendezvous of English influence and the principal asylum of old Toryism.”

Aurora, Nov. 7th.—“ The English emissary Cullen at New York has never stated his transaction as a deputy pay-master under the appointment of Mr. Windham [Porcupine’s patron.] We are to presume his “*miscarriage*” in that situation produced his transit to the United States and the *change of his name to Carpenter.*”

Here ends the extracts from the Aurora.

The conduct and character of this, Cullen, alias Mac Cullen, alias Carpenter are so very suspicious that unless he can give some satisfactory account of himself, and on what recommendation he came to this country, and call on some person of character to attest and answer for him, he ought not to be permitted to stay in the city. His continuance here will bring trouble. He is marked with all the suspicious tokens of an impostor and he exhibits the character of an emissary.

As he is a British subject, and not a citizen of the United States, and is a stranger here, and in disguise, will Mr. Erskine, the British minister, take him under his patronage and answer for him? If not it will be best to send him away. This is giving Cullen a chance he does not deserve.

It is a circumstance not easily accounted for, that at the very instant Mr. Erskine a gentleman of fair fame and respectable connections, is arrived at Washington on a mission to the government of the United States, that an impostor under a borrowed name and furnished with British regimentals, is employing himself in abusing, with the most infamous language of drunken intoxication, the same government, Mr. Erskine is commissioned to treat with. Can Rufus King or any man of mischief explain this?

COMMON SENSE.

Nov. 19, 1806.

REMARKS ON THE POLITICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS
OF EUROPE.

THE battles which decided the fate of the King of Prussia and his Government, began on the 9th of October, and ended on the 14th of that month; but the final event, that of the total overthrow of the Russian army of one hundred and fifty thousand men on the 14th, was not known in England till the 26th or 27th of October. The first public notice of it is in a London paper of the 27th (See the Mercantile Advertiser of Tuesday, Dec. 9th, and American Citizen, Dec. 10th). The article in the London paper of the 27th, which announces this event, begins as follows:

“London, Oct. 27.—*It is with very great concern that we are obliged to check the pleasing expectations that were entertained YESTERDAY of the success of the Prussian army.*”

The manifesto and declaration of the English Government on the failure of the negociation for peace with France, and which throws all the blame of that failure on the French Government, was published in the London Gazette (the official paper of the English Government) on the 21st of October, five or six days before that Government knew of the overthrow of the Prussians. Query.—Would the English Government have published that manifesto had it been kept back till after the overthrow of the Prussians were known? I think not, unless it be true which fanatics have formerly said, that “*those whom God intends to destroy he first renders mad.*”

It is a saying often verified by experience, that *one story is good till another is told*. In a little time we shall have the manifesto of the French Government, and then, by comparing the two with each other, and with *such circumstances as are known*, which is the only true way of interpreting manifestoes, we shall be enabled to form some judgment of the whole.

But as far as circumstances are already known, Buonaparte has done exactly what I would have done myself, with respect I mean to the present war, had I been in his place, which, thank God, I am not. Why are coalitions continu-

ally formed and forming against him, against the French nation, and the French Government? Or why does the Government of England oppress and impoverish the people it governs by loading them with the burdensome expence of paying those coalitions? It is they who pay all, and I pity them sincerely.

The opposers of Buonaparte say, "*he is a usurper.*" The case is, that all the kings in Europe are usurpers, and as to hereditary Government, it is a succession of usurpers. The present hereditary Government of England is derived from the usurper, William of Normandy, who conquered England and usurped the Government. If there is any man amongst them all that is less a usurper than the rest, it is Buonaparte; for he was elected by the French nation to the rank and title he now holds. The others assumed it by the sword, or succeeded in consequence of the first usurpation.

As to the coalitions against France, it is impossible in the nature of things they can succeed while the French Government conducts itself with the energy and activity it now does. The English Government may amuse itself with forming coalitions as long and as often as it pleases, but they will all come to the same fatal end. For, in the first place, there is no single power on the Continent of Europe that is able to stand against France until a coalition army, coming in detachments from different and distant parts of Europe, can be collected and formed. And, in the second place, those distant detachments of an intended coalition army cannot be put in motion for the purpose of assembling somewhere in Germany without its being known by the French Government. The case, therefore, will always be, that as soon as the French Government knows that those distant parts are in motion, the French army, with Buonaparte at its head, will march and attack the first part of the coalition army he can come up with, and overthrow it. Last year that part was Austria. This year it is Prussia. The English Government may *vole* coalition armies in the cabinet, but Buonaparte can always prevent them in the field. This is a matter so very obvious to any man who knows the scene of Europe, and can calculate the probability of events, that a Cabinet must be sunk in total ignorance and stupidity not to see it; and thus it is that the lives of unoffending men are sported away.

As to the late negotiation for peace between England and France, I view it as a *trick of war* on both sides, and the contest was which could outwit the other. The British ma-

nifesto says, “ *The negociation originated in an offer made by the French Government of treating for peace on the basis of actual possession.*” Well! be it so; it makes the matter neither better nor worse; for the fact is, though the British manifesto says nothing about it, that the British Cabinet had planned, and was forming this coalition army of Prussians, Russians, and Swedes, several months before that offer was made, and the French Government had knowledge of it, for it is impossible to keep such things a dead secret. The French Government, therefore, having at least, what may be called *suspicious* knowledge of this coalition intrigue, made the offer to find out the whole of that intrigue, that it might be prepared against it. And on the other hand, the British Cabinet closed with the offer, and went into the negociation to give time to the Russians and Swedes to march and join the Prussians, while the comedy of negociation was going on.

But the Corsican usurper, as they call him, has been too quick for them. He has outwitted the coalition intriguers, and outgeneralled the coalition usurpers. The fallen King of Prussia has to deplore his fate, and the British Cabinet to dread the consequence.

In speaking of these circumstances, it ought always to be remembered that the British Government began this war. It had concluded a treaty of peace with France called the Treaty of Amiens, and soon after, declared war again to avoid fulfilling the conditions of that treaty. It will not be able to conclude another treaty so good as the treaty it has broken, and most probably no treaty at all. That Government must now abide by its fate, for it can raise no more coalitions. There does not remain powers on the Continent of Europe to form another. The last that could be raised has been tried and has perished.

THOMAS PAINE.

New York, Dec. 14, 1806.

OF THE ENGLISH NAVY.

THE boasted navy of England has been the ruin of England. This may appear strange to a set of stupid Feds, who have no more foresight than a mole under ground, or they would not abuse France as they do; but strange as it may appear, it is nevertheless true, and a little reflection on the case will shew it.

The expence of that navy is greater than the nation can bear; and the deficiency is continually supplied by anticipation of revenue under the name of loans, till the national debt, which is the sum total of these anticipations, has amounted, according to the report of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to the English Parliament, the 28th of last March, to the enormous sum of £.603,924,000 sterling; and the interest of the debt at that time was £.24,900,000 sterling.

What are called loans, are no other than creating a new quantity of stock and sending it to market to be sold, and then laying on new taxes to pay the interest of that new stock. The persons called loaners, or subscribers for the loan, contract with the minister for large wholesale quantities of this new stock at as low a price as they can get it, and all they can make by retailing it is their profit. This ruinous system, for it is certain ruin in the end, began in the time of William the Third, one hundred and eighteen years ago.

The expence of the English navy this year, as given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, last March, is £.15,281,000 sterling, above sixty-eight million dollars. The enormous expence of this navy, taken on an average of peace and war, has run the nation into debt upwards of five millions sterling every year for the one hundred and eighteen years since the system of what are called loans began. And it is this annual accumulation of more than five millions sterling every year, for one hundred and eighteen years, that has carried the English national debt to this enormous sum of £.603,924,000 sterling, which was the amount of the debt, in March last. If it be asked, what has this mighty navy done to balance this expence? it may be answered, that, comparatively speaking, it has done nothing. It has ob-

tained some victories at sea, where nothing was to be gained but blows and broken bones, and it has plundered the unarmed vessels of neutral nations; and this makes the short history of its services.

That the English Government does not depend upon the navy to prevent Buonaparte making a descent upon England, is demonstrated by the expensive preparations that Government puts itself to by land to repel it. And that the navy contributes nothing to the protection of commerce is proved by the fact, that all the ports on the Continent of Europe are shut by land against the commerce of England. Of what use, then, is the navy that has incurred such an enormous debt, and which costs more than sixty-eight millions of dollars annually to keep it up, which is three times more than all the gold and silver that the mines of Peru and Mexico annually produce. Such a navy will always keep a nation poor. No wonder, then, that every seventh person in England is a pauper, which is the fact. The number of paupers now is 1,200,000.

Another evil to England attending this navy, besides the debt it has incurred, is that it drains the nation of specie. More than half the materials that go into the construction of a navy in England are procured from Russia and Sweden; and as the exports of English manufactures to those places are but small, the balance must be paid in specie. If Buonaparte succeed in all his plans, I hope he will put an end to navies for the good of the world.

COMMON SENSE.

Jan. 7, 1807.

REMARKS ON GOVERNOR LEWIS'S SPEECH TO THE
LEGISLATURE, AT ALBANY, NEW YORK.

INVIDIOUS comparisons shew want of judgment. But when such comparisons are made on grounds that are not true, they become the more offensive.

You say in your speech to the Legislature, "In this general dispensation of benefits our State has received an unrivalled portion. In the course of a few years she has outstripped her confederates in those important sources of national greatness, agriculture and commerce, and is not behind the foremost of them in the improvement of the useful and fine arts. The first of these assertions is supported by a comparison of the exports from New York with those of the city of Philadelphia, during the short period of five or six years, which affords an *unerring criterion*, and establishes this important fact, that whilst each has experienced a rapid increase, the former, (New York) which at the commencement of the period was far behind, has previous to its termination overtaken and gone far ahead of the latter. To explain—in the year 1800, the exports from Philadelphia stood in the ratio to those of New York of about seven to six. At the close of the year 1805, those of New York were to those of Philadelphia as twelve to seven nearly. Whence, it is natural to inquire, proceeds those results? Which are the most remarkable, as Philadelphia has preserved her superiority in population, having considerably more than one hundred thousand inhabitants, while New York has little more than seventy [thousand.] The question (continues the Governor) is one that merits the examination of an enlightened mind; and the solution of it, if I mistake not, [it is very well the Governor put this in] will be found in our spirited exertions in the improvement of roads and navigable streams. These have facilitated an intercourse between our sea-ports and interior country. Have *taught* the forests [the forests then are more learned than the forests of Pennsylvania] to bow [that is, to make a *handsome bow*, such as the Quaker trees of Pennsylvania cannot make] beneath the labours of the husbandmen. Have converted the wilderness [this is an age of strange conversions] into fruitful fields, and made the desert places *rejoice* and *blossom* like the rose,"

and sing, I suppose, like the nightingale. Poetical fiction is ridiculous in legislative concerns.

I now come to remark more seriously on the errors and on the invidious comparisons contained in the Governor's speech. I shall remark on another part of his speech after I have done with this.

I take the statements as Governor Lewis has stated them, that is, that the exports of Philadelphia were greater than the exports of New York, in the year 1800; and that, at this time, the exports of New York are greater than those of Philadelphia. But the cause which the Governor assigns for this shews a great want of knowledge and consequently of judgment.

He ascribes it, so far as respects New York, *to improvements in roads and navigable streams—to making the forests bow beneath the labours of the husbandmen—to converting the [unconverted] wilderness into fruitful fields, and making the desert places rejoice*; and he speaks of those improvements as if Pennsylvania had stood still in the mean time, and made none; whereas the fact is not as the Governor states it. Pennsylvania has made more public roads and built more permanent bridges than any other State has done. And as to the improvement of farms, there are no farmer in the United States that excel the German farmers of Pennsylvania. We must then seek some other cause than that which the Governor has assigned.

If Governor Lewis had made himself acquainted, in *some degree*, with mercantile affairs, which he ought to have done, before he undertook to speak of exports or imports, he would have found that the greater part of the exports of New York are not the produce of the State of New York, and, therefore, have a distinct origin from any thing that can arise from internal improvements of any kind. For example, the city of New York exports great quantities of tobacco, rice, cotton, indigo, pitch, tar, turpentine, and rosin, and yet none of those articles are the produce of the State of New York. The case is, that the Southern States, where those articles are produced, do not go much into the carrying trade, and as the port of New York is commodious to the sea, those articles arrive coastways to New York, to be exported from thence to Europe.

New York also exports a great deal of the produce of Connecticut, which comes in shallops through the sound. She also exports considerable quantities of the State of Ver-

mont and also of East Jersey; and in proportion that she exports the produce of other States she also imports for them. Not a third of what she imports is consumed in her own State. It is the commodious situation of the port of New York, soon in, and soon out to sea, and not to any thing in the Governor's catalogue of *pastoral* compliments, that gives New York a superiority in commerce over Philadelphia.

It ought also to be remarked, that the course of commerce has undergone considerable changes within a few years. In the first place, it was the policy of the English Government to keep the several colonies, as they were then called, *separate and unconnected with each other*; and as New York was possessed by the British during the war, the conveniences of New York as a *port of rendezvous* was not known.

After the war, the case was, that the Eastern States were the carriers for the Southern States; and the case now is, that the sea-vessels of the Eastern States make New York their port of rendezvous, where they load with the produce of the Southern States, brought to New York by coasting vessels, and export it to Europe—such as the articles already mentioned, tobacco, rice, cotton, indigo, pitch, tar, turpentine, and rosin. Not less than between forty and fifty sea-vessels that appear as if they belonged to the port of New York, are New England built, and owned by persons in New England, of which several are of New Bedford, and come to New York for freight or charter. Governor Lewis should have informed himself of all these matters before he undertook to commit himself in a speech to the Legislature about exports or imports.

I now come to remark on another passage in the Governor's speech immediately following the passage already quoted.

“Similar causes,” says the Governor, “have produced similar effects in *Great Britain, a country unequalled in agriculture, arts, manufactures, and commerce*. It is but little more than fifty years since her attention was earnestly turned to the facilities of internal intercourse. From that period her exports have been progressing and have nearly attained to an increase of four hundred per cent, while that of her population has not exceeded ten [per cent.] *A wise Government* [the Governor means by this his own administration] will not fail to improve such advantages.”

If the encomiums the Governor here makes upon England were well-founded, which they are not, they would, nevertheless, be ill-timed.

In the condition Europe is now in, it is best not to make any *speechifying* allusion to one part that may offend some other part; but the encomiums he makes are fallacious. As to the *agriculture* of England, the fact is, *that beside not victualling its own navy, which is victualled by Ireland, it does not produce grain enough for the support of its own inhabitants, and were it not for the cargoes of wheat and other grain which England procures from the United States and from the Baltic, the people would be in a starving condition.* In point of quality the French wheat is superior to the English.

As to Great Britain being unequalled in "ARTS," as the Governor has not said what *arts* he means, the expression is too vague and general to admit of remarks. There are all sorts of arts, even down to the *black art*. The English Government has the *art* of taxing the people till thousands of them cannot buy a *Sunday dinner*; and the church has the *art* of picking their pockets by tythes for the good of their souls. In what are called the *fine arts* the English are inferior to the Southern nations of Europe; and in the invention of *new arts* the French are superior to the English. The *art* of sailing in the air by balloons, by means of which the face of a large extent of country and the position of an enemy can be reconnoitred, and the *art* of communicating information to the distance of two or three hundred miles in two or three hours, by telegraphs, are French inventions. And certainly the Governor does not mean the *military art*. If he does, I leave him to settle that matter with Buonaparte.

As to "manufactures," which makes another item of the Governor's encomiums, the case is, that every nation excels in some, and no nation excels in all. The French excel the English in every article of silk manufacture, and in the manufacture of superfine broad cloth. The broad cloth in France, called cloth of Lovain, is as much beyond an English superfine as an English superfine is beyond a second cloth. The French also excel in every article of glass manufacture, plate-glass, window-glass, and hollow glass ware, and those articles are also cheaper in France than in England. The English excel the French in the cotton manufacture, but as the machinery for it, which was the invention of Richard Arkwright, an *English barber*, is now made in

France, and in other parts of Europe, the monopoly of that manufacture to England will cease.

As to *commerce*, with which the Governor completes his climax of encomiums, it is difficult to say any thing about it. A state of war is not favourable to commerce or to manufactures that depend on exportation. England being an island, can have no foreign commerce but by sea, and she is now *shut out* from all the ports of the European continent. Whereas, France being situated on the continent, has the range of the continent by land. She can trade by land to Portugal, Spain, Italy, all Germany, Austria, Poland, Denmark, and, if she pleases, to Constantinople without going to sea. The expence of this war has shewn that navies are useless with respect to commerce. The English navy, great and expensive as it is, can do nothing to benefit the commerce of England. *That navy is now a dead weight upon the nation.*

If Governor Lewis wanted to fill up a paragraph in his speech about the condition of England, he might have done it much better than he has done.

Instead of far-fetched allusions and ill-founded encomiums, unwisely forced into notice, he might in speaking of England have exhibited the melancholy spectacle of a nation *ruining itself by wars, navies, and national debts, till every seventh person in that unfortunate country is a pauper.**

He might have expatiated on the dreadful effects of **CORRUPTION**, and produced the conduct of the British Government as a warning of the danger. He might have held up the insolvency of the Bank of England as a memento against the fatal consequences of multiplying banks or increasing the quantity of bank paper. There is something rotten in the condition of England, that ought to operate as a warning and not as an example.

AN OLD CITIZEN OF THE UNION.

Feb. 23, 1807.

* The population of England consists of eight millions of souls. The number of *paupers*, according to an account given to Parliament two years ago, was *one million two hundred thousand!*

OF GUN-BOATS.

A GUN-BOAT, carrying heavy metal, is a moveable fortification; and there is no mode or system of defence the United States can go into for coasts and harbours or ports, that will be so effectual as by gun-boats.

Ships of the line are no ways fitted for the defence of a coast. They are too bulky to act in narrow waters, and cannot act at all in shoal waters. Like a whale, they must be in deep water, and at a distance from land.

Frigates require less room to act in than ships of the line; but a frigate is a feeble machine compared with a gun-boat. Were a frigate to carry and discharge the same weight of metal and ball that a gun-boat can do, it would shake her to pieces. The timbered strength of every ship of war is in proportion to the weight of metal she is to carry, and the weight of metal she is to be exposed to. The sides of a frigate are not proof against the weight of a ball that a gun-boat can discharge. The difference between two ships of war is not so much in their number of guns as in their weight of metal.

I remember the late Commodore Johnson saying in the British House of Commons, at the commencement of the American war, that "a single gun, in a retired situation, would drive a ship of the line from her moorings. I mention this, (said he) that too much may not be expected from the navy."

A gun-boat can carry a gun of the same weight of metal and ball that a ship of an hundred guns can carry; and she carries it to the greatest possible advantage. The shot from a gun-boat is a horizontal shot. The gun is fixed in a frame that slides in a groove, and when the man at the helm brings the head of the boat to point at the ship, the gun is pointed with it. When a ship fights with her starboard or larboard guns, she presents the whole broadside of the ship to the object she fires at. A gun-boat fights only with her head, that is, with the gun at her head, and when she fires at an object she presents only the breadth of the boat to that object. Suppose, then, a boat to be ten feet broad and two feet out of the water (I speak here of boats intended for the defence

of the coast, and of towns situated near the coast, and to carry a gun of the same weight of metal and ball that a ship of the line carries), such a boat will present a space to be fired at equal to twenty square feet, that is, ten feet horizontal length (being the breadth of the boat) and two feet perpendicular height, being the height of the boat out of the water. Suppose, on the other hand, that a ship be an hundred feet long and ten feet high out of the water, she will present a space to be fired at equal to one thousand square feet, that is, a hundred multiplied by ten. It is probable that a ship, in firing at a gun-boat, would fire one of her bow guns, because in so doing she apparently shortens about one half of her length; but she can fire but one gun at a time in this angular position.

But the gun-boat has other chances in her favour besides what arise from the different dimensions of the two objects. If a shot from the ship, though in a straight line with the boat, passes more than two feet above the water at the place where the boat is, it will pass over the boat without striking it. But a shot from the boat that is too high to strike the ship, may strike the mast and carry it away. It is by this means that masts are carried away. The shot that does it passes clear above the ship, and spends its whole force upon the mast. Again, if a shot from the ship pass an inch or two wide of the boat, it can do her no injury. But a shot from the boat that passes five or six inches wide of the body of the ship at the stern, may unship or carry away her rudder. This, and the carrying away a mast, are the two most fatal accidents that can befall a ship; yet neither of them can happen to a gun-boat.

Of the number of men killed or wounded in a ship, the greater part of them are not by cannon balls, but by splinters from the inside of the ship that fly in all directions; but the sides of a gun-boat not being thick like the sides of a ship, a ball would pass through without splinters; and as an effectual way to prevent splinters, should any happen or be apprehended, the sides of the boat on the inside should be lined with a strong netting made of cord, which the men can make themselves. The cabins of French ships are frequently lined in this manner.

Musketry can be used by ship against ship in close action, but cannot be used against a gun-boat, because a gun-boat drawing but little water, not more than two and a half or three feet, and depending upon oars, can always keep out of the reach of musketry. The proper distance for a gun-

boat to fire at is point blank shot.* The men should be frequently exercised at firing point blank shot at banks of earth on shore, or against the high perpendicular shores of rivers, like the North River, or against the hulk of old ships that are to be broken up, the man at the helm to point the boat and give the order for firing. A gun-boat should not carry a less weight of ball than twenty-four pounds. A frigate would not choose to expose her sides to such shot.

The first gun-boats built in the United States, were for the defence of the Delaware, in 1775 and 1776. The Roebuck man of war came up the Delaware within a few miles of Philadelphia, and the gun-boats went and attacked her. The ship fired broadsides without striking any of the boats, and as the deep water the ship was in, was but narrow, the re-action of the broadsides forced her into shoal water, and she got aground. The man who commanded the gun-boats, a suspected character of the name of White, gave orders to the boats to cease firing, and when the tide rose the ship floated and made the best of her way to sea. White afterwards joined the British at New York.

When General Howe sailed from New York, in 1777, to get possession of Philadelphia, he avoided coming up the Delaware, where the gun-boats were, and went to the Chesapeake, where there were none, and marched by land from the head of Elk into Pennsylvania. No cause can be assigned for this circuitous route of several hundred miles, but that of not exposing his ships and transports to the gun-boats. There were at that time a fortification on Mud Island, a few miles below Philadelphia, and another at Red Bank, on the Jersey shore opposite; but Howe could have landed below those, and out of the reach of their shot, but he could land no where on the Delaware shore, nor be any where with his ships in the Delaware, out of the reach of the moveable fortifications, the gun-boats. After General Howe got possession of Philadelphia by land, the gun-boats quitted their station below, and came above the city.

The Asia man of war, of 60 guns, Capt. Vandeput, got aground in New York harbour, three or four miles below the city, in the spring of 1776. General Lee commanded at New York at that time, and had there been any gun-boats,

* Point blank musket shot is 250 yards, point blank cannon shot varies according to the size of the cannon.

they could have taken her, because they could have raked her fore and aft and obliged her to strike. A man of war aground is like a bird shot in the wing, it can make no effort to save itself. As to the guns on the point now called the Battery, they could do nothing. The ship was out of the reach of their shot.

The gun-boats built in France for the descent upon England are numerous and formidable, being more than two thousand. They were begun in the year 1796. Those which I have seen, being both convoy and transport, were about sixty feet long, sixteen broad, drew about two and a half feet water, carried a twenty-four or thirty-six pounder at the head, and a field-piece in the stern, with a flap by which to run the field-piece out as soon as the boat touches ground ashore, as they run a waggon out of a scow. Each boat carried an hundred men, and rowed with twenty-five oars on a side. They have since built a much larger sort called praams. These also are flat-bottomed, draw three or four feet water, and are from four to six hundred tons burthen, and carry several very large cannon, not less, I suppose, than forty-eight-pounders at least.

The British men of war have made several attempts against the French gun-boats at Boulogne, but were always defeated. The last attempt was by fire-arrows, which might be formidable against ships, because of their sails and rigging, but is ridiculous against gun-boats.

A great deal has been said in Congress and in the New York newspapers about fortifying New York. Mr. N. Williams, in a speech in Congress, January 23, said, "The gentleman on my right (meaning Mr. Smilie) meets the proposition for fortifying New York with a most formidable objection. Expend, (says he,) what money you will, it is impossible to erect fortifications that shall prove sufficient to defend the harbour and city of New York. He (Mr. Smilie) calls upon us for a plan, and tells us, that if it can be defended, to produce our plan."—"I do not (continues Mr. Williams) pretend to be *very wise* upon this subject myself, but I have been told that the ablest engineers have examined the position, and have given it as their opinion, that an effectual mode of defence is practicable. But if defence is impossible, I call upon the gentleman (meaning Mr. Smilie) to shew wherein the peculiarity of the situation of that place (New York) consists, to render it so. For surely the pretence of impossibility would not be made use

of here, unless the city and harbour of New York were different from all other places in the world that were ever defended."

I now come to reply to the demand Mr. Williams has made. I shall do this as concisely as the limit to which I confine myself will admit, but what I say will serve to sow *seeds of thought* in the minds of others upon this subject, and may prevent millions of dollars being wasted in vain.

Fortification is founded on geometrical principles, and where the condition of a place is such that those principles cannot be applied, that place cannot be fortified to produce any effect. A place that cannot be enclosed in a polygon, cannot be fortified on any principles of fortification, unless there be a part so strong by nature, as to be inaccessible to a besieging army. The fortified parts are then sections of a polygon. New York cannot be enclosed in a polygon, and therefore cannot be fortified; neither is any part of it strong by nature. It is approachable in every part by land or water, and besides this, it can be bombarded across the East River from Long Island.

It is absolutely necessary in fortifying a town that all parts of it be equally strong, or an enemy will attack only the weakest part. New York cannot be made equally strong in all its parts, and therefore it is money thrown away to attempt to fortify it. Those who wish to know more on this subject may consult any encyclopedia, or any dictionary of arts and sciences under the head of FORTIFICATION. They will there find plans of fortified places by Count Pagan, Blondel, Vauban, Scheiter, &c. But the plans and drawings are all on the same principles. They are all polygons.

Some of our New York papers have talked of fortifying New York with "*impregnable fortifications.*" There never yet was an impregnable fortification, nor ever can be. Every fortified place can be taken that can be approached. All that a fortified place can do is to delay the progress of an enemy till an army can arrive to raise the siege. Buonaparte takes every fortified place he goes against, but he fortifies no places himself. He trusts to the open field, for when you are master of the field (and the militia of the States are numerous enough to be master of the field against an enemy) fortifications are of no use. The population of the United States when the revolutionary war began was but two millions and an half. It is now nearly six millions, and surely the people are not grown cowards, whatever the *Fed*

and *Tory* faction may be. It was cowardice that made them *Tories* at first. The British impostor and emissary, *Cullen, alias M'Cullen, alias Carpenter*, said in one of his papers that a single frigate could lay the city of New York under contribution. This shewed the extreme ignorance of the man. Two twelve-pounders, or heavier metal if it can conveniently be had, taken to the water edge would soon oblige the frigate to quit her station. I saw this done in the revolutionary war to two frigates, the Pearl frigate and another with her. It proved Commodore Johnson's opinion to be correct.

The lower a gun is to the surface of the water the more certain the shot is. This is one of the cases that gives a gun-boat an advantage against ships. If a shot from a ship strikes another ship between wind and water, it is always a chance occasioned by the heeling of the ship that is struck. But the direction of a shot from a gun-boat is so nearly between wind and water, that it generally strikes there or thereabouts. As to land batteries that are elevated, they have but little chance of striking a ship, as their fire is always in an oblique or sloping direction; whereas from a gun-boat it is a horizontal line. Fort Washington was built to prevent British ships going up the North River, and it never struck one of them; but it killed three men by chance-medley coming down the river in General Washington's barge, and this was the only vessel it ever struck.

When all the plans that can be devised for fortifying the narrows are examined, for there is no fortifying the city, it will be found that half a dozen gun-boats carrying twenty-four pounders, will do it more effectually than can be done by any other method.

COMMON SENSE.

New York, March 11, 1807.

OF THE COMPARATIVE POWERS AND EXPENCE OF SHIPS
OF WAR, GUN-BOATS, AND FORTIFICATIONS.

THE natural defence by men is common to all nations; but artificial defence as an auxiliary to human strength must be adapted to the local condition and circumstances of a country. What may be suitable to one country, or in one state of circumstances, may not be so in another.

The United States have a long line of coast of more than two thousand miles, every part of which requires defence, because every part is approachable by water.

The right principle for the United States to go upon as a water defence for the coast is that of combining the greatest practical power with the least possible bulk, that the whole quantity of power may be better distributed through the several parts of such an extensive coast.

The power of a ship of war is altogether in the number and size of the guns she carries, for the ship, of itself has no power. Ships cannot struggle with each other like animals; and besides this, as half her guns are on one side the ship and half on the other, and as she can use only the guns on one side at a time, her real power is only equal to half her number of guns. A seventy-four can use only thirty-seven guns. She must tack about to bring the other half into action, and while she is doing this she is defenceless and exposed.

As this is the case with ships of war, a question naturally arises therefrom, which is, whether seventy-four guns, or any other number, cannot be more effectually employed, and that with much less expence, than by putting them all into one ship of such enormous bulk that it cannot approach a shore either to defend it or attack it; and though the ship can change its place, the whole number of guns can be only in one place at a time, and only half that number can be used at a time.

This is a true statement of the case between ships of war and gun-boats for the defence of a coast and of towns situated near a coast. But the case often is, that men are led away by the GREATNESS of an idea and not by the JUSTNESS of it. This is always the case with those who are advocates for navies and large ships.

A gun-boat carrying as heavy metal as a ship of one hundred guns can carry, is a *one gun ship of the line*; and seventy-four of them which would cost much less than a 74 gun ship would cost, would be able to blow a 74 gun ship out of the water. They have, in the use of their guns, double the power of the ship, that is, they have the use of their whole number of 74 to 37.

Having thus stated the general outlines of the subject I come to particulars.

That I might have correct data to go upon with respect to the expence of ships and gun-boats, I wrote to the head of one of the departments at Washington for information on that subject.

The following is the answer I received :

“ Calculating the cost of a 74 or 100 gun ship, from the *actual* cost of the ship United States of 44 guns, built at Philadelphia, between the years 1795 and 1798, which amounted to 300,000 dollars, it may be presumed that a 74 gun ship would cost 500,000 dollars and a 100 gun ship 700,000 dollars.

“ Gun-boats calculated merely for the defence of harbours and rivers will, on an average, cost about 4000 dollars each when fit to receive the crew and provisions.”

On the data here given I proceed to state comparative calculations respecting ships and gun-boats.

The ship, United States, cost 300,000 dollars. Gun-boats cost 4000 dollars each, consequently the 300,000 expended on the ship for the purpose of getting the use of 44 guns, and those not heavy metal would have built *seventy-five* gun-boats each carrying a cannon of the same weight of metal that a ship of an hundred guns can carry. The difference therefore is, that the gun-boats give the use of 31 guns heavy metal, more than can be obtained by the ship and the expences in both cases equal.

A 74 gun ship cost 500,000 dollars. This same money will build 125 gun-boats. The gain by gun-boats is the use of 51 guns more than can be obtained by expending the money on a ship of 74 guns.

The cost of an 100 gun ship is 700,000 dollars. This money will build 175 gun-boats. The gain, therefore, by the boats is the use of 75 guns more than by the ship.

Though I had a general impression, ever since I had a knowledge of gun-boats, that any given sum of money would go farther in building gun-boats than in building ships of war, and that gun-boats were preferable to ships for home

defence, I did not suppose the difference was so great as the calculations above given prove them to be, for it is almost double in favour of gun-boats. It is as 175 to 100. The cause of this difference is easily explained.

The fact is, that all that part of the expence in building a ship from the deck upward, including mast, yards, sails and rigging is saved by building gun-boats which are moved by oars, or a light sail occasionally.

The difference also in point of repairs between ships of war and gun-boats is not only great but is greater in proportion than in their first cost. The repairs of ships of war is annually from 1-14 to 1-10 of their first cost. The annual expence of the repairs of a ship that cost 300,000 dollars will be above 21,000 dollars; the greatest part of this expence is in her sails and rigging which gun-boats are free from.

The difference also in point of duration is great. Gun-boats, when not in use, can be put under shelter and preserved from the weather, but ships cannot; or the boats can be sunk in the water or the mud. This is the way the nuts of cider mills for grinding apples are preserved. Were they to be exposed to the dry and hot air after coming wet from the mill they would crack and split and be good for nothing. But timber under water will continue sound for several hundred years, provided there be no worms.

Another advantage in favour of gun-boats is the expedition with which a great number of them can be built at once. An hundred may be built as soon as one if there are hands enough to set about them separately. They do not require the preparations for building them that ships require, nor deep water to launch them in. They can be built on the shore of shallow waters, or they might be framed in the woods or forests and the parts brought separately down and put together on the shore. But ships take up a long time building. The ship United States took up two whole years 96 and 97 and part of the years 95 and 98 and all this for the purpose of getting the use of 44 guns and those not heavy metal. This foolish affair was not in the days of the present administration.

Ships and gun-boats are for different services. Ships are for distant expeditions; gun-boats for home defence. The one for the ocean; the other for the shore.

Gun-boats being moved by oars cannot be deprived of motion by calms, for the calmer the weather the better for the boat. But a hostile ship becalmed in any of our waters,

can be taken by gun-boats moved by oars, let the rate of the ship be what it may. A 100 gun man of war becalmed, is like a giant in a dead palsy. Every little fellow can kick him.

The United States ought to have 500 gun-boats stationed in different parts of the coast, each carrying a thirty-two or thirty-six pounder. Hostile ships would not then venture to lye within our waters, were it only for the certainty of being sometimes becalmed. They would then become prizes, and the insulting bullies on the ocean become prisoners in our own waters.

Having thus stated the comparative powers and expence of ships of war and gun-boats, I come to speak of fortifications.

Fortifications may be comprehended under two general heads.

First, fortified towns; that is, towns enclosed within a fortified polygon, of which there are many on the continent of Europe but not any in England.

Secondly, simple forts and batteries. These are not formed on the regular principles of fortification, that is, they are not formed for the purpose of standing a siege as a fortified polygon is. They are for the purpose of obstructing or annoying the progress of an enemy by land or water.

Batteries are formidable in defending narrow passes by land; such as the passage of a bridge, or of a road cut through a rough and craggy mountain that cannot be passed any where else. But they are not formidable in defending water-passes, because a ship with a brisk wind tide and running at the rate of ten miles an hour will be out of the reach of the fire of the battery in fifteen or twenty minutes, and being a swift moving object all the time it would be a mere chance that any shot struck her.

When the object of a ship is that of passing a battery for the purpose of attaining or attacking some other object it is not customary with the ship to fire at the battery lest it should disturb her course. Three or four men are kept on deck to attend the helm, and the rest, having nothing to do, go below. Duckworth in passing the Dardenelles up to Constantinople did not fire at the batteries.

When batteries for the defence of water-passes can be erected without any great expence, and the men not exposed to capture, it may be very proper to have them. They may keep off small piratical vessels but they are not to be trusted to for defence.

Fortifications give, in general, a delusive idea of protection. All our principal losses in the revolutionary war were occasioned by trusting to Fortifications. Fort Washington with a garrison of 2500 men was taken in less than four hours and the men made prisoners of war. The same fate had befallen Fort Lee on the opposite shore, if General Lee had not moved hastily off and gained Hackinsack bridge. General Lincoln fortified Charleston, S. C. and himself and his army were made prisoners of war. General Washington began fortifying New York in 1776, General Howe passed up the East river landed his army at Frog's Point about twenty miles above the city and marched down upon it, and had not General Washington stole silently and suddenly off on the North river side of York Island, himself and his army had also been prisoners. Trust not to Fortifications, otherwise than as batteries that can be abandoned at discretion.

The case however is, that batteries, as a water defence against the passage of ships cannot do much. Were any given number of guns to be put in a battery for that purpose, and an equal number of the same weight of metal put in gun-boats for the same purpose, those in the boats would be more effectual than those in the battery. The reason for this is obvious. A battery is stationary. Its fire is limited to about two miles, and there its power ceases. But every gun-boat moved by oars is a moveable fortification that can follow up its fire and change its place and its position as circumstances may require. And besides this, *gun-boats in calms are the sovereigns of ships.*

As this matter interests the public, and most probably will come before Congress at its next meeting, if the printers in any of the States, after publishing it in their news-papers, have a mind to publish it in a pamphlet form, together with my former piece on gun-boats, they have my consent freely. I take neither copy-right nor profit for any thing I publish.

COMMON SENSE.

New York, July 21, 1807.

REMARKS ON A STRING OF RESOLUTIONS OFFERED BY
MR. HALE, TO THE NEW YORK HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AT ALBANY.

THESE resolutions have the appearance of being what is sometimes called an electioneering trick, similar to that about fortifications, practised at New York when the election for charter officers was to come on. They are like baits thrown out to catch gudgeons. I will examine each of the resolutions separately, and shew their defects.

First, "Resolved, if the honourable Senate concur herein, that in the present state of our national concerns, it becomes the duty of the people of this State, represented in Senate and Assembly, to express their sentiments on the important subject of fortifying the port and harbour of New York, and of protecting the valuable and extensive commerce of the United States."

Remarks.—Is Mr. Hale acquainted with the subject he speaks upon? Does he know enough of the principles of fortification to explain to the House what is practicable, and what is impracticable? Did he ever see a fortified town, fortified, I mean, on the established principles of fortification? Does he know, scientifically or practically, what places can be fortified and what cannot? If he does not know these things, he has waded out of his depth in making his resolves.

He speaks of the "port and harbour of New York." But what ideas does he affix to the terms "port and harbour?" If by port, he means the city of New York, it proves he knows nothing of fortification; for the condition of New York, as well by nature as by the irregularity of its outline, renders fortifying it impossible.

Again, if by the term harbour, he means the waters at the wharfs within the range of the Harbour Master, the case is, that to begin a fortification there, the ships must be sent up the East or North River, and the wharfs turned into parapet batteries with embrasures, and planted with cannon. Commerce and fortification cannot be in the same place.

But if by harbour, he means the bay between the city and the narrows, the most effectual defence would be by gun-boats,

each carrying a twenty-pounder. A gun-boat being a moveable fortification has a large sphere to act in, and a battery on land a small one. A ship can always keep out of the reach of a land battery, or with a brisk wind and tide, can be out of the range of its shot in fifteen minutes, and being a moving object all the time, the chance is, that not a shot would strike her.

Before men assume to make motions, and resolve about fortifications, they should endeavour to understand them. The history of fortifications during the revolutionary war, is the history of traps. All our principal losses in that war were occasioned by trusting to fortifications. Fort Washington, with two thousand five hundred men, was taken in less than four hours, and the men made prisoners of war. The same would have befallen the garrison at Fort Lee, on the opposite shore, had not General Greene marched suddenly off and gained Hackensack-bridge. In the spring and summer of 1776, General Washington had possession of New York, and fortified it, General Howe passed up the East River, landed his troops about twenty miles above the city, and after taking possession of King's Bridge, marched down upon the city, and had not General Washington stole off on the North River side of York Island, he and the army with him had been prisoners. General Lincoln undertook to fortify Charleston, and he and the garrison were shut up in it by the enemy and made prisoners of war. It is an imposition on the public to hold up the idea of fortifications as places of safety. The open field is always the best. One of the principal cares of a general is to secure a retreat in case of a defeat, but there is no retreat for men besieged in a fortified town. I pass on to his second resolve.

“Resolved, that when this State in acceding to the Government of the United States, surrendered its valuable and increasing impost revenue for the general benefit of the Union, it was done under a full conviction that it would then become the indispensable duty of the United States in return, to afford the capital, harbour, and commerce of this State, full and competent protection.”

This Resolve is founded in error, and every position it contains is fallacious.

The several States agreed to *consolidate* the impost revenue for the benefit of the whole. There was no surrender in the case. Every State did the same thing, because it was its duty to do it. This consolidation of the impost revenue was for the purpose of sinking the debt, as well foreign as

domestic, incurred by the war, and also to defray the expence of the general Government; and had it not been for the extravagance of former administrations, which increased the debt instead of diminishing it, the debt would have been sunk before this time. The present administration had a dead horse to pull out of the mire.

It is also to be observed, that the prosperity of New York arises from the very circumstance of which this resolve complains. Had New York not agreed to consolidate the impost revenue in common with the other States, she would have been excluded from the commerce and carrying trade of all the other States, and have sunk into solitary insignificance. Her wharfs would not have been crowded with ships as they are now.

It is by consolidating the impost revenue into a *whole*, and thereby leaving every State to choose its port of export or import, either in its own or in another State, that the commerce, or rather the carrying trade, of New York, has of late years increased so much. Were New York confined to the exports of her own State, and to import only for the consumption of her own State, she would not have more than a third of the commerce and of the carrying trade she has now. The consolidation of the impost revenue has operated as a bounty to New York, and this short-sighted legislator complains of it. But though men, as merchants, tied down to the study of their ledgers and cash-books, are in general but dull politicians, it is necessary for them to understand their own affairs, and they ought to have advised Mr. Hale not to have brought in the string of foolish and ill-founded resolves he has done.

C***** S****e.

Remarks on Mr. Hale's String of Resolves concluded.

IN my former number I examined Mr. Hale's two first resolves, and shewed the fallacy of them. In this, I shall extract such parts of his remaining resolves as expose themselves most to public notice.

His third Resolve is mere declamation about the old bugbear of *fortifications*.

His fourth Resolve is an indecent invective against Congress, on the same subject.

In his fifth Resolve, he speaks of "the public debt being materially reduced, and of the favourable prospect of its total extinction in a few years, by the happy and successful opera-

tion, (he says) of the funding system." But what funding system does he mean? It certainly is not by the operation of any funding in the administration of Washington or Adams. The public debt increased in both those administrations; and as to John Adams, he left the treasury overflowing with debt and the country overrun with internal taxes. It is by the economy and wise management of the present administration *only* that the happy effects of which Mr. Hale speaks has been produced, but it does not suit him to say so. O Malignancy, thou art a hateful monster!

Mr. Hale concludes this resolve by proposing, in consequence of this flourishing state of the revenue, that Congress should appropriate to each State a sum equal to the impost revenue which each State may produce, to be employed for the purpose of fortifications. This is what in common life is called "a take in." There is something insidious in it, which I shall expose when I come to remark on the resolve which follows, to which this is an introduction.

"Resolved, that under all existing circumstances, this State *is entitled* to ask and *demand* of the Government of the United States the appropriation of a sum equal to the amount of the impost revenue of the *port of New York* to be applied to the purpose of defending the port and harbour of the said city (of New York.)"

I now go to examine the ground of this resolve and to detect the fallacy of it, by laying down a certain rule whereby to ascertain the quantity of impost revenue arising from the quantity of population in any of the States, and to distinguish that quantity from the gross amount of impost revenue collected in any port of entry.

The total amount of impost revenue arising from the total population of all the States is 12,000,000 dollars, of which sum each State contributes a part in proportion to its quantity of population, whether it imports into its own State, or purchases imported articles in other States with the import duty upon them. For example:—

The State of Jersey does not import any thing. The eastern part of that State purchase imported articles at the port of New York, and the western part at the port of Philadelphia, and these two ports are the collectors of the impost revenue of Jersey, which according to its population is above 400,000 dollars, as I shall shew; and the merchants of whom those purchases are made have the use of that

money without interest till they pay it into the treasury of the United States.

I now come to lay down the rule for ascertaining the quantity of impost revenue paid by each State, which is:—

As the total population of all the States is to the total impost revenue of 12,000,000 dollars, so is the population of any State to the portion it pays of that 12,000,000 dollars.

The total population of all the States, according to the last census, taken in 1801, was, at that time, 5,309,758

The population of New York.....	586,050
Of Pennsylvania.....	602,545
Of Jersey.....	211,149

According to the progressive increase of population in the United States, which doubles itself in every twenty-four or twenty-five years, the population in 1801 will now be increased one-fourth, and therefore the present population of the State of New York is..... 732,560

Ditto of Pennsylvania.....	753,181
Ditto of Jersey.....	264,648
And the total population of all the States is	6,637,197

To find what portion of 12,000,000 is paid by the State of New York, say, as 6,637,197, the total population, is to 12,000,000, so is 732,560, the population of New York, to the portion it pays of that sum, and

The quotient will be.....	1,324,426
That of Pennsylvania.....	1,361,743
That of Jersey.....	478,245

Pennsylvania pays 37,317 more impost revenue than the State of New York pays.

But the case with New York is, that she exports and imports for a large part of the Southern States, and also for a part of the Eastern States, and this increases her collection of impost revenue to more than three times the amount of what she pays herself. It is this that enables her merchants, many of which are British or British agents, to carry on trade. They sell imported articles to other States with the impost duty upon them, and receive that impost duty either in money or in produce time enough to make a second voyage with it before they pay it into the Treasury of the United States. The capitals of those merchants are made up, in a great measure, of the impost revenue that rests in

their hands. It is by the blunders of such men as Mr. Hale, who belongs to the Federal faction of blundering politicians, that matters of this kind are brought to light. The blunders of one man often serve to suggest right ideas to another man.

The impost revenue collected at the port of New York is estimated at more than 4,000,000 dollars, about 3,000,000 dollars of which is drawn from other States, and the remaining 1,324,426 is paid by the population of New York, which, as before said, is 37,317 less than is paid by Pennsylvania.

Mr. Hale's proposal is *to demand of the Government of the United States the appropriation of a sum equal to the impost revenue of the port of New York*; as if all the impost revenue collected there was paid by the State. I have now placed before his eyes the folly as well as the injustice of his proposal, and I have also done it to prevent other people being imposed upon by such absurdities.

Mr. Hale concludes his string of resolutions with the following:—

“ Resolved, as the sense of this Legislature, that no nation however enlightened, populous, or enterprising it may be, can maintain a respectable standing as a commercial nation, without the protection and support of a respectable navy.”

In the first place, this resolve is conceived in ignorance and founded on a falsehood. Hamburg has carried on a greater commerce than any town or city in the European Continent, Amsterdam excepted, and yet Hamburg has not a single vessel of war; and on the other hand, England, with a navy of nearly one hundred and forty sail of the line, besides frigates almost without number, is shut out by land from all the ports on the Continent of Europe.

Navies do not protect commerce, neither is the protection of commerce their object. They are for the foolish and unprofitable purpose of fighting and sinking each other at sea; and the result is, that every victory at sea is a victory of loss. The conqueror, after sinking and destroying a part of his enemies' fleet, goes home with crippled ships and broken bones. The English fire the Tower guns, and the French sing *Te Deum*.

But Mr. Hale, in order to have completed his work, should have added another resolve, and that should have been about the expence of a navy; for unless the United States have a navy at least equal to the navies of other nations, she had better have none, for it will be taken and turned

against her. The navy of one nation pays *no respect* to the navy of another nation.

The expence of the English navy for 1806, according to the report of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in March of that year, was upwards of 68,000,000 dollars. The portion of the expence which the State of New York would have to pay as *her quota* towards raising what Mr. Hale calls a "*respectable navy*," would be 8,000,000 dollars over and above the impost revenue of 1,324,426, and therefore Mr. Hale should have finished with a resolve to the following purport:—

“Resolved, as the sense of this Legislature, that the farmers and landholders of the city and State of New York ought most cheerfully to pay, and this Legislature has no doubt but they will pay, the sum of 8,000,000 dollars annually, over and above the impost revenue, *as the quota of this State*, towards raising a '*respectable navy*' to fight either the French navy, the Spanish navy, the English navy, or any other navy.”

As trees cannot be voted into ships by a resolve of the Legislature: it is first necessary to settle about the expence of a navy, and the manner in which that expence is to be defrayed, before they resolve about building a navy. Count the cost is a good maxim. Mr. Hale has begun his work at the wrong end.

COMMON SENSE.

April 3, 1807.

ON THE EMISSARY CULLEN.

It appears by a paragraph in the *Public Advertiser*, that Cullen, alias *Carpenter*, or whatever his name is, if he has any name, has commenced a prosecution against the printer or publisher of the *Public Advertiser*, but the prosecution does not say what it is for. Some advantages will arise from this and some amusement also. He will now have to identify himself and prove who he is, and upon what recommendation he came to America, and get some persons of respectability if he can to attest for him. We have not established liberty as an asylum for impostors. Mr. Duane of Philadelphia knew him in India and in England, and he can prove that he did not then go by the name he now goes by,

and the man that changes his name is an impostor. The law can know nothing of such persons but for the purpose of punishing them.

Thomas Paine will also know where to find him when the prosecution comes on, for he concealed himself from all the enquiries Mr. Paine made to find him or his place of residence. The case is, that Cullen's paper had falsified a publication written by Mr. Paine and published in the *Citizen*, on the danger to which a neutral nation exposed itself by harbouring an *Emissary*, or a suspected emissary, of one belligerent nation against another belligerent nation. This publication was falsified in Cullen's paper insidiously entitled "The People's Friend." Mr. Paine copied off the falsifications and desired a friend of his, a merchant in John Street, to call on Cullen, and read the falsifications to him, and demand who was the writer of them. The gentleman called at the printing office, but Cullen, alias Carpenter, was not there. The gentleman left word that he would call the next day and that he had something to communicate to Mr. Carpenter. He called accordingly but Carpenter was not there. He then asked the persons in the office where Mr. Carpenter lodged; they said they did not know, but they believed it was a good way off. The gentleman then left word for the third time, that he would call the next day, which he did, but Carpenter was not to be found, nor could any account be given of him. Mr. Paine will now know where to find him.

This man with two or three names has laid his damages at three thousand dollars. One way to get rich is first to be a rascal and then prosecute for exposing the rascality. But why did he not lay the damages at an hundred thousand dollars. There is a precedent for this.

April 8, 1807.

THREE LETTERS TO MORGAN LEWIS, ON HIS PROSECUTION
OF THOMAS FARMER, FOR ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND
DOLLARS DAMAGES.

Letter the First.

THE proud integrity of conscious rectitude fears no reproach, and disdains the mercenary idea of damages. It is not the sound, but the ulcerated flesh that flinches from the touch. A man must feel his character exceedingly vulnerable, who can suppose that any thing said about him, or against him, can endamage him a hundred thousand dollars: yet this is the sum Morgan Lewis has laid his damages at, in his prosecution of Mr. Farmer, as chairman of a meeting of republican citizens. This is a case, abstracted from any idea of damages, that ought to be brought before the representatives of the people assembled in Legislature. It is an attempted violation of the rights of citizenship, by the man whose official duty it was to protect them.

Mr. Farmer was in the exercise of a legal and constitutional right. He was chairman of a meeting of citizens, peaceably assembled to consider on a matter that concerned themselves, *the nomination of a proper person to be voted for as governor at the ensuing election.* Had the meeting thought Morgan Lewis a proper person, they would have said so, and would have had a right to say so. But the meeting thought otherwise, and they had a right to say otherwise. But what has Morgan Lewis, as governor, to do with either of these cases. He is not governor *jure divino*, by divine right, nor is he covered with the magical mantle which covers a king of England, that HE can do no wrong; nor is the governorship of the State his property, or the property of his family connexions.

If Morgan Lewis could be so unwise and vain as to suppose he could prosecute for what he calls damages, he should prosecute every man who composed that meeting, *except the chairman*; for in the office of chairman, Mr. Farmer was a silent man on any matter discussed or decided there. He could not even give a vote on any subject, unless it was a tie vote, which was not the case. The utmost use Mr. Lewis could have made of Mr. Farmer would have

been to have subpœnaed him to prove that such resolves were voted by the meeting; for Mr. Farmer's signature to those resolves, as chairman of the meeting, was no other than an attestation that such resolves were then passed.

Morgan Lewis, in this prosecution, has committed the same kind of error that a man would commit who should prosecute a witness for proving a fact done by a third person, instead of prosecuting that third person on whom the fact was proved. Morgan Lewis is, in my estimation of character, a poor lawyer, and a worse politician. He cannot maintain this prosecution; but I think Mr. Farmer might maintain a prosecution against him. False prosecution ought to be punished; and this is a false prosecution, because it is a wilful prosecution of the wrong person. If Morgan Lewis has sustained any damage, or any injury, which I do not believe he has, it is by the members composing the meeting, and not by the chairman. The resolves of a meeting are not the act of the chairman.

But in what manner will Morgan Lewis prove damages? damages must be proved by facts; they cannot be proved by opinion—opinion proves nothing. Damages given by opinion, are not damages in fact, and a jury is tied down to fact, and cannot take cognizance of opinion. Morgan Lewis must prove that between the time those resolves were passed, and the time he commenced his prosecution, he sustained damages to the amount of one hundred thousand dollars, and he must produce facts in proof of it. He must also prove that those damages were *in consequence* of those resolves, and could he prove all this, it would not reach Mr. Farmer, because, as before said, *the resolves of a meeting are not the act of the chairman.*

This is not a case merely before a jury of twelve men. The whole public is a jury in a case like this, for it concerns their public rights as citizens, and it is for the purpose of freeing it from the quibbling chicanery of law, and to place it in a clear intelligible point of view before the people that I have taken it up.

But as people do not read long pieces on the approach of an election, and as it is probable I may give a second piece on the subject of damages, I will stop where I am for the present.

THOMAS PAINE.

April 14, 1807.

Letter the Second.

IN my former letter, I shewed that Morgan Lewis could not maintain a prosecution against Mr. Farmer, because the resolves of a public meeting are not the act of the chairman. His signature affixed thereto is not even evidence of his approbation, though I have no doubt myself but he approved them. It is put there for the purpose of certifying that such resolves were passed. In this letter I shall proceed further into the subject.

This prosecution is, upon the face of it, an attempt to intimidate the people in their character as citizens, from exercising their right of opinion on public men and public measures. Had it been a prosecution by one individual against another individual, in which the people had no interest or concern, I should not have taken the subject up. But it is a case that involves a question of public rights, and which shews that Morgan Lewis is not a proper person to be entrusted with the guardianship of those rights. In the second place, it is a bad example, because it is giving as governor of the State, the pernicious example of instituting frivolous prosecutions for the purpose of making money by them. A man of conscious integrity would feel himself above it, and a man of spirit would disdain it.

One of the objections stated against Morgan Lewis in those resolves, is, *that he had formed a coalition with the Federalists*. If Morgan Lewis conceived and felt this to be a disgrace to him, he must necessarily as a cause for that conception, have considered the Federalists an infamous set of men, and it is now incumbent on him to prove them such, as one of the grounds on which he is to prove damages. It is tantamount to his having said, in his own manner of speaking, *they accuse me of being associated with scoundrels*. Morgan Lewis is a weak man. He has not talents for the station he holds. He entraps himself in his own contrivances.

But if the objection contained in the resolves was ill-founded, why did not Morgan Lewis come forward in the spirit of a man and the language of a gentleman, and contradict it. He would have gained credit by this, if he was innocent enough to have done it. The objection against him was publicly stated, and if not true ought to have been publicly refuted; for as Morgan Lewis is a public man, and

the case involves a public question, it is the public of all parties that have a right to know if the objections against him are true or not. This case is not a question of law, but a question of honour and of public rights.

The man who resorts to artifice and cunning, instead of standing on the firm and open ground of principle, can easily be found out. When those resolves first appeared, Morgan Lewis must have felt the necessity of taking some notice of them; but as it did not suit him at that time either to acknowledge them or contradict them, he had recourse to a prosecution, as it would afford a pretence for doing neither. A prosecution viewed in this light would accommodate itself to the situation he was in, by holding the matter in obscurity and indecision till the election should be over. But the artifice is too gauzy not to be seen through, and too apparently trickish not to be despised.

As to damages, Morgan Lewis has sustained none. If those resolves have had any effect, it has been to his benefit. He was a lost man among the Republicans before the resolves appeared, and their public appearance has given him some standing among such of the Federalists who are destitute of honour and insensible of disgrace. These men will vote for him, and also for Rufus King, the persecutor of the unfortunate Irish.

I now come to speak on the subject of damages generally; for it appears to me that certain juries have run into great mistakes on this subject. They have not distinguished between *penalty* and *damages*. Penalty is punishment for crime. Damages is indemnification for losses sustained. When a man is prosecuted criminally, all that is necessary to be proved is, the fact with which he is charged, and all that the jury has to do in this case is to bring in a verdict according to the evidence given. The court then passes sentence conformable to the law under which the crime is punishable. If it is by fine, or imprisonment, or both, the law generally limits the extent of the fine or penalty, and also the period of imprisonment. It does not leave it to any mad-headed, or avaricious individual, or to any jury, to say it shall be an hundred thousand dollars.

But in prosecutions for what are called damages, two things are necessary to be proved. First, the words spoken or published, or actions done. Secondly, damages actually sustained in consequence of those words or actions. The words or actions can often be proved, and Morgan Lewis may prove that certain resolves were passed at a meeting of

the citizens, at which Thomas Farmer was chairman. But unless Morgan Lewis can prove that the meeting exercised illegal authority in passing those resolves, and that he has sustained damage in consequence thereof, a jury can award him no damages: and certain it is, that juries in cases of prosecution for what is called damages, cannot inflict penalties. Penalties go to the State, and not to the individual. If in any of the late prosecutions, juries have awarded damages where damages were not proved, the execution of the verdict ought to be suspended, and the case referred to a new trial.

THOMAS PAINE.

April 21, 1807.

Letter the Third.

IN this letter, I shall continue my observations on damages generally, and take Morgan Lewis in my way. There are two descriptions of men who cannot suffer damages. The one is the man whose character is already so infamous that nothing said of him can make him appear worse than he is. The other is the man whose character is so invulnerable that no reproach against him can reach him. It falls pointless to the ground, or reacts upon the party from whence it came.

The first time Mr. Jefferson was elected President, the majority in his favour was ninety-two to eighty-four. As this majority was small, the faction of the Feds redoubled their abuse, and multiplied falsehood upon falsehood to throw him out at the next election. Their malignity and their lies were permitted to pass uncontradicted, and the event was, that at the next election Mr. Jefferson had a majority of one hundred and sixty-two to fourteen.

As this is an instance that invulnerable character cannot suffer damage, I leave it to Coleman, Cullen, and Rufus King, to identify the persons of the contrary description; and they may, if they please, draw lots among themselves to decide which of them shall stand foremost on the list of *infamous security* from damage.

When Morgan Lewis, in conversation with William Livingston, said that "De Witt Clinton, Judge Comstock, and Judge Johnson were three of the damnedest rascals that ever disgraced the counsels of a state," the venom and vulgarity of the expression were too visible to do injury, and the character of the man who said it too equivocal to obtain credit.

It was not worth the trouble of contradicting. Calumny is a vice of a curious constitution. Trying to kill it keeps it alive; leave it to itself and it will die a natural death.

Chancellor Lansing's ill judged and ill written address to the public, comes precisely under the head of calumny. He insinuated in that address a charge against Governor Clinton when he (Governor Clinton) was almost three hundred miles distant from New York, and when called upon by George Clinton, jun. to explain himself, that the public might know what he meant, refused to do it. Mr. Lansing holds the office of Chancellor *during good behaviour*, and this is the reverse of good behaviour. The words *good behaviour*, which are the words of the Constitution, must have some meaning, or why are they put there? They certainly apply to the whole of a man's moral and civil character, and not merely to official character. A man may be punctual in his official character because it is his interest to be so, and yet be dishonourable and unjust in every thing else.

Mr. Lansing should have recollected that Governor Clinton's long experience in the office of Governor enabled him to give useful advice to a young beginner, and his well known integrity precludes every idea of his giving any other. If Governor Clinton gave any advice to Mr. Lansing on the subject he speaks of, Mr. Lansing ought to have felt himself obliged to him, instead of which he has turned treacherous and ungrateful.

But though men of conscious integrity, calm and philosophical, will not descend to the low expedient of prosecuting for the sake of what are called damages, there nevertheless ought to be a law for punishing calumny; and this becomes the more necessary because it often happens that the prosecutor for damages is himself the calumniator. Morgan Lewis's prosecution of Thomas Farmer for one hundred thousand dollars damages, is holding Mr. Farmer up to the public as an unjust man. Maturin Livingston is playing the same game towards Mr. Jackson, one of the editors of the Independent Republican; and the Anglo-Irish impostor, Cullen, who is secured from damage by the infamy of his character, is trying to make three thousand dollars out of Mr. Frank, one of the editors of the Public Advertiser. As the matter stands at present, a rogue has a better chance than an honest man.

There is not a man in the United States, Thomas Jefferson excepted, that has been more abused by this mean and unprincipled faction than myself; yet I have never prosecuted any of them. I have left them to welter in their own

lies. But had there been a law to punish calumny and lying by penalty, and the money to be given to the poor, I would have done it. But as to damages, as I do not believe they have character enough of their own to endamage mine, I could claim none.

THOMAS PAINE.

April 23, 1807.

ANECDOTE OF JAMES MONROE AND RUFUS KING.

THE names of Monroe and King ought not to be mentioned in the same breath, but for the purpose of shewing the different characters of the two ministers.

When Hamilton Rowan effected his escape from an Irish prison and came to Paris, he met Thomas Paine in the street, and they agreed to spend the day together in the country. Mr. Paine called on Mr. Monroe to inform him of it, and that he should not dine with him on that day. On Mr. Paine mentioning the name of Hamilton Rowan, Mr. Monroe desired Mr. Paine to introduce him, which he did. Mr. Monroe received him with great cordiality and respect. Mr. Rowan then took his leave, and when they were descending the stairs to go their country walk, Mr. Monroe called Mr. Paine back, and said to him, "As Mr. Rowan has met with a great many difficulties it is most probable he may be in difficulty with respect to money; please to tell him from me that I will supply him."

Compare this nobleness of heart with the base conduct of Rufus King towards the comrades of Hamilton Rowan, and every man of honour and of feeling must despise and detest him.

ON THE QUESTION, WILL THERE BE WAR?

EVERY one asks, Will there be war? The answer to this is easy, which is, That so long as the English Government be permitted, at her own discretion, to search, capture, and condemn our vessels, controul our commerce, impress our seamen, and fire upon and plunder our national ships, as she has done, she will *Not Declare War*, because she will not give us the acknowledged right of making reprisals. Her plan is a monopoly of war, and she thinks to succeed by the manœuvre of not declaring war.

The case then is altogether a question among ourselves. Shall we make war on the English Government, as the English Government has made upon us; or shall we submit, as we have done, and that with long forbearance, to the evil of having war made upon us without reprisals? This is a right statement of the case between the United States and England.

For several years past it has been the scheme of that Government to terrify us, by acts of violence, into submission to her measures, and in the insane stupidity of attempting this, she has incensed us into war. We neither fear nor care about England, otherwise than pitying the people who live under such a wretched system of government. As to navies, they have lost their terrifying powers. They can do nothing against us at land, and if they come within our waters, they will be taken the first calm that comes. They can rob us on the ocean, as robbers can do, and we can find a way to indemnify ourselves by reprisals, in more ways than one.

The British Government is not intitled, even as an enemy, to be treated as civilized enemies are treated. She is a pirate, and should be treated as a pirate. Nations do not declare war against pirates, but attack them as a natural right. All civilities shewn to the British Government, is like pearl thrown before swine. She is insensible of principle and destitute of honour. Her monarch is mad, and her ministers have caught the contagion.

The British Government, and also the nation, deceive themselves with respect to the power of navies. They suppose that ships of war can make conquests at land; that they can

take or destroy towns or cities near the shore and obtain by terror what terms they please. They sent Admiral Duckworth to Constantinople upon this stupid idea, and the event has shewn to the world the imbecility of navies against cannon on shore. Constantinople was not fortified any more than our American towns are now; but the Turks, on the appearance of the British fleet, got five hundred cannon and a hundred mortars down from the arsenals to the shore, and the blustering heroes of the navy seeing this, fled like a hound with a rattle at his tail. The gallant people of Norfolk and its neighbourhood have sent Douglas off in a similar manner. An Indian who studies nature is a better judge of naval power than an English minister.

In March, 1777, soon after taking the Hessians at Trenton, I was at a treaty held with the five northern nations of Indians at East Town, in Pennsylvania, and was often pleased with the sagacious remarks of those original people. The chief of one of the tribes, who went by the name of *King Lastnight*, because his tribe had sold their lands, had seen some English men of war in some of the waters of Canada and was impressed with an idea of the power of those great canoes; but he saw that the English made no progress against us by land. This was enough for an Indian to form an opinion by. He could speak some English, and in conversation with me, alluding to the great canoes, he gave me his idea of the power of a king of England by the following metaphor.

“The king of England,” said he, “is like a fish. When he is in the water he can wag his tail.—When he comes on land he lays down on his side.”—Now, if the English Government had but half the sense this Indian had, they would not have sent Duckworth to Constantinople, and Douglas to Norfolk, to lay down on their side.

Accounts from Halifax state, that Admiral Berkeley has alledged in writing, that “his orders (to Douglas) were not issued until every application to restore the mutineers and deserters (as he calls them) had been made by his Britannic Majesty’s ministers, consul, and officer, and had been refused by the Government of the United States.”

If this account be true, it shews that Berkeley is an idiot in governmental affairs; for if the matter was in the hands of the British minister, who is the immediate representative of his Government, Berkeley could have no interference in it. That minister would report to his Government the demand he made, if he made any, and the answer he received, if he

received any, and Berkeley could act only in consequence of orders received afterwards. It does not belong to subordinate officers of any Government to commence hostilities at their own discretion.

I now come to speak of the politics of the day as they rise out of the circumstances that have taken place.

The injustice of the British Government, and the insolence of its naval officers, is no longer to be borne. That injustice, and that insolence grows out of a presumption the British Government has set up, which it calls "*the right of search.*" There is not, nor ever was, such a right appertaining to a nation in consequence of its being in war with another nation. Wherever such a right existed it has been by treaty, and where no such treaty exist, no such right can exist, and to assume the exercise of it is an act of hostility which if not abandoned must be repelled until it be abandoned. The United States cannot even cede such a right to England, without ceding the same right to France, Spain, Holland, Naples, Italy, and Turkey, or they will take it, and the United States must take the consequence. It is very difficult matter, and requires great political wisdom for a neutral nation to make a treaty during a time of war with one belligerent nation, that shall not commit her with the other. The best way then, since matters are come to the extremity they are, is to resist this pretended *right of search* in the first instance. The United States are able to do it, and she is the only neutral nation that is able.

We are not the diminutive people now that we were when the revolution began. Our population then was two millions and an half, it is now between six and seven millions, and in less than ten years will exceed the population of England. The United States have increased more in power, ability, and wealth within the last twenty or twenty-two years than she did for almost two hundred years before, while the states were British Colonies.

She owes this to two things, *independence* and the *representative system of Government*. It was always the ill-judged and impracticable system of the British Government to keep the Colonies in a state of continual nonage. They never were to be of full age that she might always controul them.

While the United States have been going forward in this unparalleled manner, England has been going backward. Her Government is a bankrupt, and her people miserable. More than a million of them are paupers. Her king is mad, and her parliament is corrupt. We have yet to see what the

present new elected parliament will be. There is one man in it, whom I proudly call a friend, from whom there will be great expectations: but *what can one honest independent member do*, surrounded by such a mass of ignorance and corruption as have for many years past governed that unfortunate nation.

The great dependance of England has been on her navy, and it is her navy that has been her ruin. The falsely imagined power of that navy (for it was necessary it should be amphibious to perform what was expected from it) has prompted the ignorance of her Government into insolence towards all foreign powers till England has not a friend left among nations. Russia and Sweden will quarter themselves upon her purse till it becomes empty, and then very probably will turn against her.

Depending on her navy she blockaded whole countries by proclamation, and now, Buonaparte, by way of justifiable retaliation, has blockaded her by land from the commerce of the western part of the Continent of Europe. Her insolent and imbecile expedition to Constantinople, has excluded her from the commerce of Turkish Europe and Turkey in Asia, and thrown it into the hands of France—and her outrageous conduct to us will exclude her from the commerce of the United States. By the insolence of the crew of her navy she is in danger of losing her trade to China; and it is easy to see that Buonaparte is paving his way to India by Turkey and Persia. The madness of the British Government has thrown Turkey into the arms of France. Persia lies between Turkey and India, and Buonaparte is forming friendly connections with the Persian Government. There is already an exchange of ambassadors. Buonaparte is sending military officers into Persia, and will, with the consent of its Government, raise an army there and attack the English monopoly in India. If France holds her connections with Turkey and Persia, England cannot hold India.

It is in this wretched chaos of affairs that the mad Government of England has brought on herself a new enemy by commencing hostilities against the United States. She must be ignorant of the geography of America, or she would know that we can dispossess her of all her possessions on the Continent whenever we please, and she cannot, with safety, keep a fleet in the West Indies during the hurricane months. Buonaparte will find employment for every soldier she can raise, and those she may send to the Continent of Europe will become prisoners. There never was an in-

stance of a Government conducting itself with the madness and ignorance the British Government has done! This is John Adams's stupendous fabric of human wisdom!

That the British Government will disown giving hostile instructions to Berkeley I have no doubt. It is the trick of old governments to do so when they find themselves wrong, and pay some scape goat to bear the blame. But this will not be sufficient. The pretended *right of search* and the impressment of our seamen must be abandoned. Three thousand of them have been impressed by British ships to fight against France. The French Government has shewn a great deal of patience in not complaining of it, for it is a great injury to her, and must be redressed, or worse consequences will follow.

I have said in the former part of this essay that it is a difficult matter and requires great political wisdom for a neutral nation during a war to form a treaty with one belligerent nation that shall not commit her with the other. I will now give an instance of it.

In 1794, Washington sent Mr. Monroe as minister to France, and John Jay to England, and gave them contradictory instructions. By the treaty that then existed between the United States and France, "*Free ships made free goods.*" So that English property on board American ships was protected from seizure by France. John Jay made a treaty with England which Washington and the stupid Senate of that day ratified, by which free ships DID NOT make free property, and that French property on board American ships could be seized by England. This of consequence vacated the free article in the treaty with France, and she availed herself of it, and the United States lost the carrying trade of both nations. There is a jesuitism in Jay's treaty, which says, that the question whether *free ships make free goods* shall be taken into consideration two years after the war. It is now more than two years since that war, and therefore it forms an item with the matters to be now settled with the English Government.

The British Government have been so long in the habit of insolence that she has not the sense of seeing when the power of being insolent ceases. She ought to see that the power of France by land is far superior to *her* power at sea. France, by land, can blockade the commerce of England out of Europe and India, and the English navy can do nothing to prevent it. Of what use is it to "*rule the waves,*" if you cannot put your foot on shore? If it was a contest

contest for fisheries, the most powerful navy would decide; but as it is a contest for commerce it is land force that decides, and navies are out of the question.

If the British Government were wise, she would cease the pretended *right of search* of her own accord, for it brings her into endless trouble. It makes all nations her enemy. Every nation detests the piratical insolence of England and none more so than the United States. The spirit that is now raised, cannot be appeased until reparation is made for the past, and security be given for the future.

COMMON SENSE.

New York, Aug. 14, 1807.

ROYAL PEDIGREE.*

GEORGE the Third, who was the grandson of George the Second, who was the son of George the First, who was the son of the Princess Sophia, who was the cousin of Anne, who was the sister of William and Mary, who were the daughter and son in law of James the Second, who was the son of Charles the First, who was a traitor to his country and decapitated as such, who was the son of James the First, who was the son of Mary, who was the sister of Edward the Sixth, who was the son of Henry the Eighth, who was the cold-blooded murderer of his wives, and the promoter of the Protestant religion, who was the son of Henry the Seventh, who slew Richard the Third, who smothered his nephew Edward the Fifth, who was the son of Edward the Fourth, who with bloody Richard slew Henry the Sixth, who succeeded Henry the Fifth, who was the son of Henry the Fourth, who was the cousin of Richard the Second, who was the son of Edward the Third, who was the son of Richard the Second, who was the son of Edward the First, who was the son of Henry the Third, who was the son of John, who was the brother of Richard the First, who was the son of Henry the Second, who was the son of Matilda, who was the daughter of Henry the First, who was the brother of William Rufus, who was the son of William the Conqueror, who was the son of a whore.

* Supposed to be Mr. Paine's.

REPLY TO CHEETHAM.

THE Editor of the New York American Citizen, James Cheetham, has, consistently with his usual mode of abuse, published a long-winded piece in his paper of Thursday last, which, without doubt, he thinks clever because it is spiteful. This piece in the Citizen is an attack on a publication of mine in the New York Public Advertiser of the preceding Tuesday against the project of obstructions in the channel of solid blocks of stone or earth, because such obstructions "would prevent the tide coming up and lay the wharfs at the city dry, and be the ruin of all the towns on the North River that depended for commerce on tide water."

Mr. Cheetham says, "that the entire obstruction recommended in this paper (meaning his own paper) would injure the harbour, is a thought which has occurred to every man in the city, vulgar or refined." Why then could not James Cheetham see it? If he had he certainly would not have proposed such a stupid project.

Mr. Cheetham has said this that I might not have the credit of being the first or only man that discovered the danger, and in the eagerness of his malignancy to do this he has libelled himself; for he has proved that every other man in the city, vulgar or refined, had more sense than James Cheetham. I know not how soon other persons might see the danger of the project, but I wrote my objections against it the same day the piece appeared, which was on Saturday, and gave it to a friend on Sunday, Mr. Walter Morton, for the Public Advertiser. Mr. Morton gave the piece to the printer on Monday morning.

Mr. Cheetham, in his rage for attacking every body, and every thing that is not his own, (for he is an ugly-tempered man, and he carries the evidence of it in the vulgarity and forbiddingness of his countenance—God has set a mark upon Cain) has attacked me on the ground of my political works, and in doing this he has exposed the barrenness of his understanding as fully as in the former case.

He quotes the following paragraph from a short anonymous piece of mine in the Public Advertiser of June 1.

"In 1714, the English nation, for the principles of free government were not understood at that time, sent to

Hanover for a man and his family, George the First, to come and govern them."

Mr. Cheetham, in remarking upon this paragraph, says, "The sending for the idiot, George the First, is true, but the lines underscored, that is, *for the principles of free government were not understood at that time*, are a libel on the venerable dead. In 1714, the principles of a free Government were as well understood in England as they are now in any part of the world."

James Cheetham is such a splenetic John Bull, that he has not discernment enough to see the result of his own statements, for, if the principles of free government were as well understood in England in 1714 as they are now in any part of the world, including America, they certainly would not have sent to Hanover for an idiot to govern them! And as they did send to Hanover for an idiot to govern them, it proves that the principles of free, that is, representative government, were not understood in England at that time.

After this Mr. Cheetham speaks much about *Locke*, and says, "that all political elementary writers on Government since the days of *Locke*, including Mr. Paine, are but the mere retailers of his ideas and doctrines." This is John Bullism all over.

He also says, that "On hereditary and *elective* Government, Mr. Paine, in his *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man*, has followed *Locke* idea for idea." It may be so for what I know, for I never read *Locke*, nor ever had the work in my hand, and by what I have heard of it from *Horne Tooke*, I had no inducement to read it. It is a speculative, not a practical work, and the style of it is heavy and tedious, as all *Locke's* writings are.

I suppose *Locke* has spoken of hereditary and *Elective Monarchy*, but the representative as laid down in *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man*, is an entire different thing to elective monarchy. So far from taking any ideas from *Locke* or from any body else, it was the absurd expression of a mere John Bull in England about the year 1773, that first caused me to turn my mind to systems of Government. In speaking of the then King of Prussia, called the Great Frederick, he said, "He is the right sort of man for a King for he has a deal of the devil in him." This set me to think if a system of Government could not exist that did not require the devil, and I succeeded without any help from any body. It is a great deal may be learned from absurdity, and I

expect to learn something from James Cheetham. When I do, I will let him know it in the Public Advertiser.

In the conclusion of the piece of mine which Mr. Cheetham has vomited his spleen upon, I threw out some reproach against those who instead of practising themselves in arms and artillery, that they might be prepared to defend New York, should it be attacked, were continually employing themselves on imaginary fortifications and skulking behind projects of obstruction. As Mr. Cheetham supposed himself included in this description, (and he thought right) he made, as he imagined, an effectual retort, but in doing this as in every thing else he does, he betrayed his want of knowledge both as to the spirit and circumstances of the times he speaks of.

“I would not,” says Mr. Cheetham, “charge with cowardice that gentleman, (meaning me) who in the ‘times that tried men’s souls,’ stuck very correctly to his pen in a *safe retreat*, and never handled a musket offensively.”

By this paragraph Mr. Cheetham must have supposed that when Congress retreated from Philadelphia to Baltimore in the “times that tried men’s souls,” that I retreated with them as Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Affairs.

In the first place, the Committee for Foreign Affairs did not exist at that time.

In the next place. I served in the army the whole of the “time that tried men’s souls” from the beginning to the end.

Soon after the Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776, Congress recommended that a body of ten thousand men, to be called the flying camp, because it was to act wherever necessary, should be formed from the militia and volunteers of Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. I went with one division from Pennsylvania under General Roberdeau. We were stationed at Perth Amboy, and afterwards at Bergen; and when the time of the flying camp expired, and they went home, I went to Fort Lee and served as aid-de-camp to Greene, who commanded at Fort Lee, and was with him through the whole of the black times of that trying campaign.

I began the first number of the Crisis, beginning with the well-known expression, “These are the times that try men’s souls”) at Newark upon the retreat from Fort Lee, and continued writing it at every place we stopt at, and had it printed at Philadelphia the 19th of December, six days before the taking the Hessians at Trenton, which, with the affair at Princetown the week after, put an end to the black times.

It therefore is not true that I stuck to my pen in a safe retreat with Congress from Philadelphia to Baltimore in the "times that tried men's souls." But if I had done so I should not have published the cowardice James Cheetham has done. In speaking of the affair of the *Driver* sloop of war at Charleston, South Carolina, he said in his paper, if the *Driver* and her comrades should take it in their heads to come here (New York) we must submit. What abominable cowardice, for a man to have such a thought in his mind that a city containing twenty thousand able-bodied men, numbers of them as stout in person as himself, should submit to a sloop of war containing about a hundred and fifty men.

After this Mr. Cheetham will take care how he attacks old revolutionary characters whose undiscouraged intrepidity in the "times that tried men's souls" made a home for him to come to.

THOMAS PAINE.

New York, Aug. 21, 1807.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER TO DR. MICHELL, SENATOR FOR
THE STATE OF NEW YORK, WRITTEN IMMEDIATELY
SUBSEQUENT TO THE DISCHARGE OF AARON BURR.

WHEREAS time, experience and circumstances, have shewn that the article in the Federal Constitution, which establishes the judiciary, is vague and defective, and requires amendment.

According to that article, the judges hold their offices, during, that is, *on the condition of good behaviour*. Yet the Constitution has not authorised any power to take cognizance of that good behaviour, or the breach of it. Every law, and a Constitution is the supreme law, point out the mode of redress, at the same time that it specifies the offence. But the Federal Constitution is defective in this important particular. This being the case, therefore resolved.

That the following amendment to the article in the Federal Constitution which establishes the judiciary, be proposed to the States severally, for their concurrence therein; that is to say.

That after the words as they now stand in the article, "the judges of the supreme and inferior courts shall hold their offices during good behaviour," to add *but for reasonable cause, which shall not be sufficient ground for impeachment, the president may remove any of them, on the address of a majority of both houses of Congress*.

* * * * *

It may be proper to observe, that the people of the United States have no share in the appointment of judges, nor any controul over them afterwards. And if their representatives in Congress have no cognizance of judges as to good behaviour, the judiciary may become domineering or dangerous. They lie open to the intrigues of a foreign enemy, or any corrupt party in the States associated with that enemy, or projecting a separation of the Union. It is fair to suppose, that those who formed the Constitution, never thought of this, when they made the judges independent of our own executive.

Y^our's,

THOMAS PAINE.

August, 1807.

CHEETHAM AND HIS TORY PAPER.*

CHEETHAM is frequently giving symptoms of being the successor of *Cullen*, alias *Carpenter*, as *Cullen* was the successor of *Cobbet*, alias *Porcupine*. Like him, he is seeking to involve the United States in a quarrel with France for the benefit of England.

In his paper of Tuesday, Sept. 22, he has a long abusive piece against France, under the title of "*Remarks*" on the speech of the Arch Chancellor of France to the French Senate. This is a matter that Cheetham, as an adopted American citizen, has no business with; and as a John Bull it is impertinence in him to come here to spit out his venom against France. But Cheetham cannot live without quarrelling, nor write without abuse. He is a disgrace to the Republicans, whose principle is to live in peace and friendship with all nations, and not to interfere in the domestic concerns of any.

Cheetham seems to regret that peace is made on the Continent of Europe, and he shews his spleen against it by the following roundabout scurrilous paragraph.

"The people of France (says he) now breathe the air of peace, under slavery closer, more systematic, military and universal, (Cheetham knows nothing about it) than that with which they were overwhelmed previous to the beginning of the long continued calamity." This is spoken exactly in the character of a stupid prejudiced John Bull, who, shut up in his island and ignorant of the world, supposes all nations slaves but themselves; whereas those at a distance can see, that of all people enslaved by their own Governments, none are so much so as the people of England. Had Cheetham staid in England till this time he would have had to shoulder a musket, and this would have been dreadful to him, for as all bullies are cowards, the smell of gunpowder would be as horrid to Cheetham as the scent of a skunk to other animals.

The danger to which the city of New York was exposed,

* This piece was the cause of a duel between Cheetham and Franks.

by the continual abuse of France in such papers as Cullen's, was, that the French Government might be induced to consider the city of New York as a British colony, such as it was during the revolutionary war, and exclude her from the commerce of the Continent of Europe, as she has excluded Britain. Cheetham is following the footsteps of Cullen.

The French nation, under all its changes of Government, has always behaved in a civil and friendly manner to the United States. We have no cause of dispute with France. It was by the aid of France in men, money, and ships,* that the revolution and independence of the United States were so completely established, and it is scarcely sufferable that a prejudiced and surly-tempered John Bull should fix himself among us to abuse a friendly power.

Sept. 25, 1807.

NOTE TO CHEETHAM.

MR. CHEETHAM,

Oct. 27, 1807.

UNLESS you make a public apology for the abuse and falsehood in your paper of Tuesday, Oct. 27, respecting me, I will prosecute you for lying.

It is by your talent for abuse and falsehood, that you have brought so many prosecutions on your back. You cannot even state truth without running it to falsehood. There was matter enough against Morgan Lewis without going a syllable beyond the truth.

THOMAS PAINE.

* Six thousand French troops under General Rochambeau, and thirty-one sail of the line under Admiral De Grass, assisted at the capture of Coruwallis at York Town, Virginia, which put an end to the war.

THE EMISSARY CHEETHAM.

CHEETHAM can now be considered in no other light than a British emissary or successor to the impostor Cullen, alias Carpenter, whom Cheetham handed out in his newspaper, as a gentlemanly sort of a man. Cheetham finding the Republicans are casting him off, is holding out signs to be employed as a British partizan.

Cheetham, in his papers of Dec. 29 and 30, has two long pieces about the embargo, which he labours to prove is not laid in consequence of any dispute with England, but in consequence of some imperious demands on the part of France. This John Bull is an idiot in diplomatic affairs.

Cheetham says, "Mr. Monroe's dispatches, which were laid before Congress, and which Congress *concluded did not authorise an embargo*, are dated London, Oct. 10th. In the opinion of Congress, (continues Cheetham) and I venture to say of Mr. Monroe, an immediate war with England was therefore by no means probable."

Cheetham has been so long in the habit of giving false information, that truth is to him like a foreign language.

The President laid the dispatches of Mr. Monroe, of Oct. 10th, before Congress; but as they were in daily expectation of later information by the arrival of the Revenge schooner, and also of the personal arrival of Mr. Monroe, Congress received it as preparatory information, but came to no conclusion on their contents.

Cheetham says, that the Leopard, which brought Mr. Monroe's dispatches, of Oct. 10th, sailed from London on the 16th of October, and that the Revenge sailed from London for Cherburgh, on the same day, at which time, says Cheetham, there was no probability of an immediate war with England.

In a letter I received from London, dated Oct. 15th, and which I published in the Philadelphia Aurora, and in the York Public Advertiser, the writer, in speaking of the British Ministry, says, "Their cup of iniquity is nearly full, they only want to go to war with America to fill it up; and it is the opinion here (London) that that measure is resolved on. They will make no concessions unless it be to deceive."

The letter is dated one day before the *Revenge* sailed from London, and I suppose came by the *Revenge*: yet Cheetham tells his readers there was then no probability of a war with America. Cheetham's information is never entitled to credit.

When the *Revenge* sailed with the President's proclamation, and the instructions to Mr. Monroe, the writer of this knows she was ordered to come from London to France. It was expected she would be detained in the two countries about a month, and be back here about the 16th of November.

Her coming from London to France would give Mr. Monroe the opportunity (for foreign ministers do not correspond by post but by express) of communicating to Mr. Armstrong, at Paris, the plans and projects of the British Ministry.

Soon after the arrival of the *Revenge* at Cherburgh, a French port on the Channel, General Armstrong sent circular letters to the American Consuls in France, to hasten the departure of the American vessels as fast as possible. Several paragraphs in the English newspapers, and which have been copied into the American papers, stated, that the British Ministry intended to seize American vessels coming to, or going from, any port in France. As Mr. Monroe would get knowledge of this, as well as the writer of the letter to Thomas Paine, of Oct. 15th, he would communicate it to General Armstrong, at Paris; and this accounts for General Armstrong's circular letter, after the arrival of the *Revenge* schooner from London.

If Britain put her threat in force, that of taking American vessels going to or coming from France, it is probable the French Government will retaliate, and take American vessels going to or coming from England; and this resolution on the part of France, has a natural tendency to prevent American vessels being taken, because Britain, by setting the example, will suffer more by it than France.

The British blockading decree, that of seizing neutral vessels going to or from France, was to have been published on the 14th of November, but the news from London of the 14th, by the *Jane*, is silent on the subject. The apprehension of retaliation has, most probably, stopped the British Ministry in their career.

Jan. 7, 1808.

(To be continued in a future paper.)

MEMORIAL TO CONGRESS.

To the Honourable House of Representatives.

New York, January 21, 1808.

THE purport of this address is to state a claim I feel myself entitled to make on the United States, leaving it to their representatives in Congress to decide on its worth and its merits. The case is as follows:—

Towards the latter end of the year 1780, the Continental money had become so depreciated, a paper dollar not being more than a cent, that it seemed next to impossible to continue the war.

As the United States were then in alliance with France, it became necessary to make France acquainted with our real situation. I therefore drew up a letter to Count Vergennes, stating undisguisedly the true case, concluding with the request whether France could not either as a subsidy or a loan supply the United States with a million sterling, and continue that supply annually during the war.

I shewed the letter to M. Marbois, secretary to the French minister. His remark upon it was, that a million sent out of the nation exhausted it more than ten millions spent in it. I then shewed it to Ralph Isard, member of Congress for South Carolina. He borrowed the letter of me and said, we will endeavour to do something about it in Congress.

Accordingly, Congress appointed Colonel John Laurens, then aid to General Washington, to go to France and make representation of our situation for the purpose of obtaining assistance. Colonel Laurens wished to decline the mission, and that Congress would appoint Colonel Hamilton, which Congress did not choose to do.

Colonel Laurens then came to state the case to me. He said he was enough acquainted with the military difficulties of the army, but that he was not enough acquainted with political affairs, nor with the resources of the country; but, said he, if you will go with me, I will accept, which I agreed to do, and did do.

We sailed from Boston in the Alliance frigate, Captain Barry, the beginning of February, 1781, and arrived at

L'Orient the beginning of March. The aid obtained from France was six million livres as a present, and ten millions as a loan borrowed in Holland on the security of France. We sailed from Brest in the French *Resolve* frigate the first of June, and arrived at Boston the 25th of August, bringing with us two millions and a half in silver, and convoying a ship and a brig laden with clothing and military stores. The money was transported in sixteen ox-teams to the national bank at Philadelphia, which enabled the army to move to York Town to attack, in conjunction with the French army under Rochambeau, the British army under Cornwallis. As I never had a cent for this service, I feel myself entitled, as the country is now in a state of prosperity, to state the case to Congress.

As to my political works, beginning with the pamphlet *Common Sense*, published the beginning of January, 1776, which awakened America to a declaration of independence, as the president and vice-president both know, as they were works done from principle I cannot dishonour that principle by asking any reward for them. The country has been benefited by them, and I make myself happy in the knowledge of it. It is, however, proper to me to add, that the mere independence of America, were it to have been followed by a system of government modelled after the corrupt system of the English government, it would not have interested me with the unabated ardour it did. It was to bring forward and establish the representative system of government, as the work itself will shew, that was the leading principle with me in writing that work and all my other works during the progress of the revolution: And I followed the same principle in writing the *Rights of Man* in England.

There is a resolve of the old Congress, while they sat at New York, of a grant to me of three thousand dollars—the resolve is put in handsome language, but it has relation to a matter which it does not express. Elbridge Gerry was chairman of the committee who brought in the resolve. If Congress should judge proper to refer this memorial to a committee, I will inform that committee of the particulars of it.

I have also to state to Congress, that the authority of the old Congress was become so reduced towards the latter end of the war, as to be unable to hold the States together. Congress could do no more than recommend, of which the States frequently took no notice, and when they did, it was never uniformly.

After the failure of the five per cent. duty, recommended by Congress to pay the interest of a loan to be borrowed in Holland, I wrote to Chancellor Livingston, then minister for foreign affairs, and Robert Morris, minister of finance, and proposed a method for getting over the whole difficulty at once, which was by adding a continental legislature to Congress, who should be empowered to make laws for the Union, instead of recommending them. As the method proposed met with their full approbation, I held myself in reserve to take the subject up whenever a direct occasion occurred.

In a conversation afterwards with governor Clinton, of New York, now vice-president, it was judged, that for the purpose of my going fully into the subject, and to prevent any misconstruction of my motive or object, it would be best that I received nothing from Congress, but leave it to the States, individually, to make me what acknowledgment they pleased.

The State of New York made me a present of a farm, which, since my return to America, I have found it necessary to sell:† and the State of Pennsylvania voted me five hundred pounds, their currency. But none of the States to the eastward of New York, nor to the south of Philadelphia ever made me the least acknowledgment. They had received benefits from me, which they accepted, and there the matter ended. This story will not tell in history. All the civilized world knows I have been of great service to the United States, and have generously given away talents that would have made me a fortune.

I much question if an instance is to be found in ancient or modern times of a man who had no personal interest in the cause he took up, that of independence and the establishment of the representative system of government, and who sought neither place nor office after it was established, that persevered in the same undeviating principles as I have done for more than thirty years, and that in spite of difficulties, dangers and inconveniences, of which I have had my share.

THOMAS PAINE.

* To Mr. Shute, in 1806, but as Mr. Shute died shortly after, and his widow found it to be an inconvenience, Paine, at her solicitation, took it back.

TO CONGRESS.

CITIZEN REPRESENTATIVES, New York, Feb. 14, 1808.

IN my memorial to Congress of the 21st of January, I spoke of a resolve of the old Congress of three thousand dollars to me, and said that the resolve had relation to a matter it did not express; that Eldridge Gerry was chairman of the committee that brought in that resolve, and that if Congress referred the memorial to a committee, I would write to that committee and inform them of the particulars of it. It has relation to my conduct in the affair of Silas Deane and Beaumarchais. The case is as follows:

When I was appointed secretary to the committee for foreign affairs, all the papers of the secret committee, none of which had been seen by Congress, came into my hands. I saw by the correspondence of that committee with persons in Europe, particularly with Arthur Lee, that the stores which Silas Deane and Beaumarchais pretended they had purchased, were a present from the court of France, and came out of the king's arsenals. But as this was prior to the alliance, and while the English ambassador (Stormont) was at Paris, the court of France wished it not to be known, and therefore proposed that "a small quantity of tobacco or some other produce should be sent to the Cape (Cape Francaise) to give it the air of a mercantile transaction, repeating over and over again that it was for a cover only, and not for payment, as the whole remittance was gratuitous." See Arthur Lee's letters to the secret committee. See also B. Franklin's.

Knowing these things, and seeing that the public were deceived and imposed upon by the pretensions of Deane, I took the subject up, and published three pieces in Dunlap's Philadelphia paper, headed with the title of "Common Sense to the Public on Mr. Deane's affairs." John Jay was then President of Congress, Mr. Laurens having resigned in disgust.

After the third piece appeared, I received an order, dated Congress, and signed John Jay, that "Thomas Paine do attend at the bar of this house immediately," which I did.

Mr. Jay took up a newspaper and said, "Here is Mr. Dunlap's paper of December 29. In it is a piece entitled Common Sense to the Public on Mr. Deane's affairs, I am direct-

ed by Congress to ask you if you are the author." "Yes, sir, I am the author of that piece." Mr. Jay put the same question on the other two pieces and received the same answer. He then said, you may withdraw.

As soon as I was gone, John Pen, of North Carolina, moved that "Thomas Paine be discharged from the office of secretary to the committee for foreign affairs," and prating Governor Morris seconded the motion, but it was lost when put to the vote, the States being equally divided. I then wrote to Congress requesting a hearing, and Mr. Laurens made a motion for that purpose which was negatived. The next day I sent in my resignation, saying, that "as I cannot consistently with my character as a freeman submit to be censured unheard, therefore, to preserve that character and maintain that right, I think it my duty to resign the office of secretary to the committee for foreign affairs, and I do hereby resign the same."

After this I lived as well as I could, hiring myself as a clerk to Owen Biddle of Philadelphia, till the legislature of Pennsylvania appointed me clerk of the general assembly. But I still went on with my publications on Deane's affairs, till the fraud became so obvious that Congress were ashamed of supporting him, and he absconded. He went from Philadelphia to Virginia and took shipping for France, and got over to England where he died. Doctor Cutting told me he took poison. Governor Morris by way of making apology for his conduct in that affair, said to me after my return from France with Colonel Laurens, "Well! we were all duped, and I among the rest."

As the salary I had as secretary to the committee of foreign affairs was but small, being only 800 dollars a year, and as that had been fretted down by the depreciation to less than a fifth of its nominal value, I wrote to Congress, then sitting at New York, (it was after the war) to make up the depreciation of my salary, and also for some incidental expences I had been at. This letter was referred to a committee of which Elbridge Gerry was chairman.

Mr. Gerry then came to me and said that the committee had consulted on the subject, and they intended to bring in a handsome report, but that they thought it best not to take any notice of your letter or make any reference to Deane's affair or your salary. They will indemnify you, said he without it. The case is, there are some motions on the journals of Congress, for censuring you with respect to Deane's affair, which cannot now be recalled, because they have been

printed. Therefore, will bring in a report that will supersede them without mentioning the purport of your letter.

This, Citizen Representatives, is an explanation of the resolve of the old Congress. It was an indemnity to me for some injustice done me, for Congress had acted dishonourably to me. However, I prevented Deane's fraudulent demand being paid, and so far the country is obliged to me, but I became the victim of my integrity.

I preferred stating this explanation to the committee rather than to make it public in my memorial to Congress.

THOMAS PAINE.

TO THE HONOURABLE THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIR,

New York, March 7, 1808.

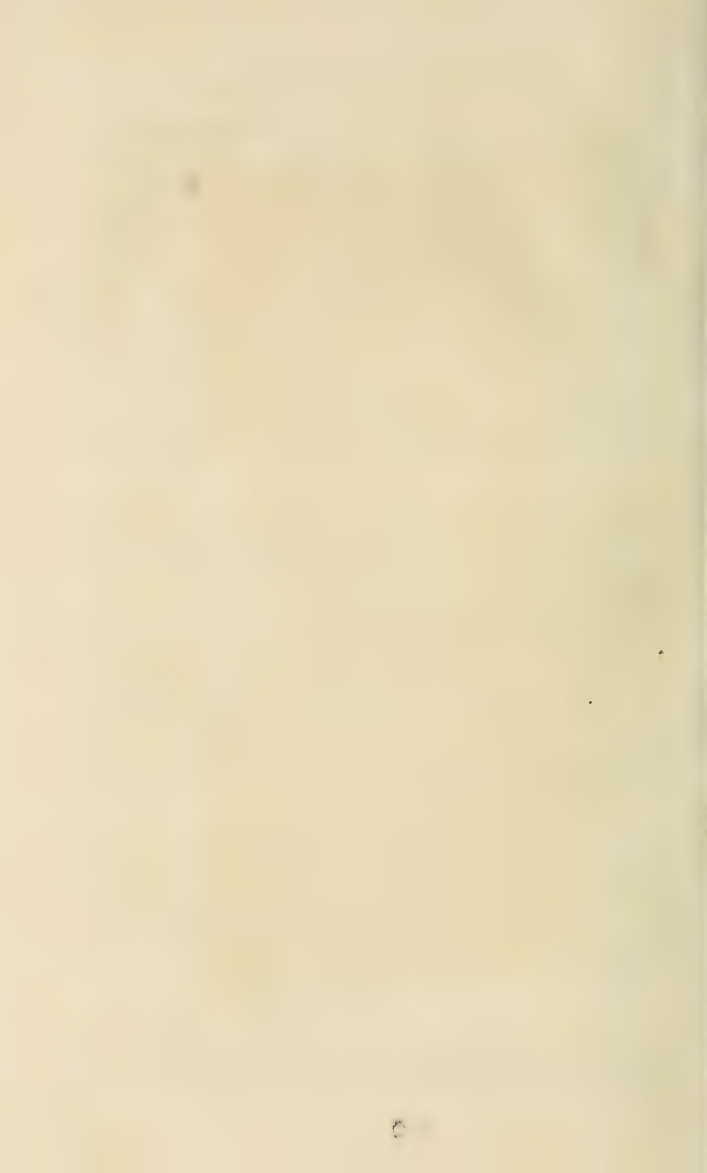
I KNOW not who the Committee of Claims are, but if they are men of younger standing than "*the times that tried men's souls*," and consequently too young to know what the condition of the country was at that time I published *Common Sense*, for I do not believe independence would have been declared had it not been for the effect of that work, they are not capable of judging of the whole of the services of Thomas Paine. The president and vice-president can give you information on those subjects, so also can Mr. Smilie, who was a member of the Pennsylvania legislature at the times I am speaking of. He knows the inconveniences I was often put to, for the old Congress treated me with ingratitude. They seemed to be disgusted at my popularity, and acted towards me as a rival instead of a friend.

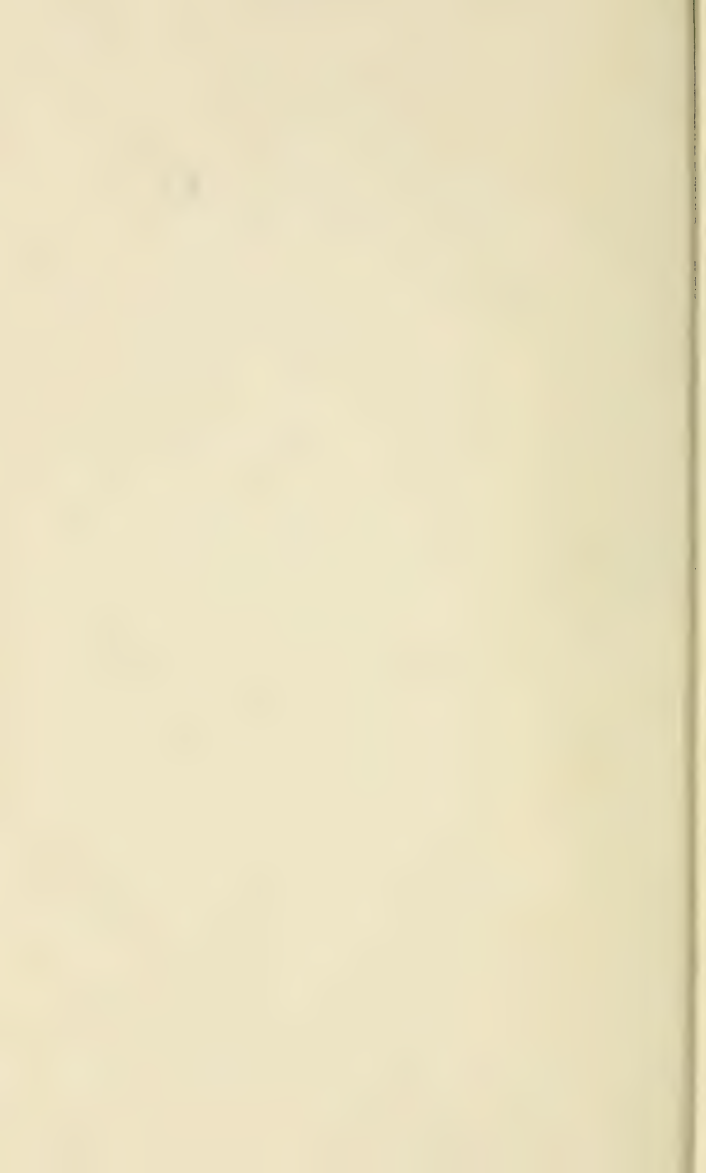
The explanation I sent to the committee respecting a resolve of the old Congress while they sat at New York should be known to Congress, but it seems to me that the committee keep every thing to themselves and do nothing. If my memorial was referred to the Committee of Claims, for the purpose of losing it, it is unmanly policy. After so many years of service my heart grows cold towards America.

Yours, in friendship,

THOMAS PAINE.

P. S. I repeat my request that you would call on the Committee of Claims to bring in their report, and that Congress would decide upon it.





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